Monday, September 1, 1997/Bhadra 10, 1919 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Three Minutes past Eleven of the Clock

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

OBITUARY REFERENCES

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, I have to inform the House of the sad demise of two of our friends, Sarvashri Zulfiquarulla and Kansari Halder.

Shri Zulfiquarulla was a Member of Sixth Lok Sabha representing Sultanpur Parliamentary constituency of Uttar Pradesh during 1977-79.

An active social and political worker, Shri Zulfiquarulla served as Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance and Communications during 1977-79.

An able parliamentarian, he actively participated in the proceedings of the House. He was a member of the Committee on Papers Laid on the Table.

An industrialist by profession, Shri Zulfiquarulla worked relentlessly for development of education and communal harmony. He was Mayor of Allahabad during 1962-63 and earlier Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad during 1944-45. He also served Allahabad as Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board for seven terms.

Shri Zulfiquarulla passed away on 17 January, 1997 at Allahabad at the age of 94 years.

Shri Kansari Halder was a member of Second and Fourth Lok Sabha representing Diamond Harbour and Mathurapur parliamentary constituencies of West Bengal during 1957-62 and 1967-70.

A veteran freedom fighter, Shri Halder actively participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement during 1930 and suffered imprisonment for several years.

An active and social political worker, Shri Halder organised relief work during Bengal famine in 1941. Shri Halder became famous for his 'Tebhaga Movement' in Kakadip-Sunderbans area in which he organised *kisans* to fight against flood, famine and exploitation by landlords.

An able and active Parliamentarian, he made valuable contribution to the proceedings of the House.

Shri Kansari Halder passed away on the 29th August, 1997 at Calcutta at the age of 87 years.

We deeply mourn the loss of these friends and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved families.

The House may stand in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the deceased.

11.06 hrs.

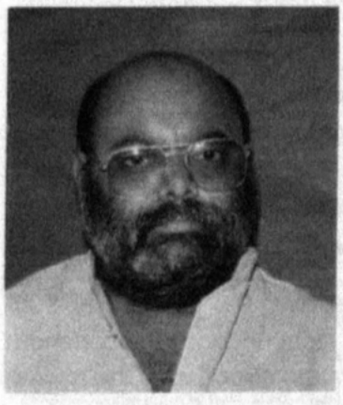
The Members then stood in silence for a short while.

11.07 hrs.

Motion Re. : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY - *Contd.*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we shall resume the debate. Hon. Members who want to lay their speeches on the table of the House may do so now.



SHRI DHIRENDRA AGARWAL

[Translation]

SHRI DHIRENDRA AGARWAL (Chatra) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I express my gratitude for convening the special session of the House to mark the Golden Jubilee of our independence to discuss the achievements and failures of the country.

Sir, India has definitely achieved tremendous progress in various fields after gaining independence but we have not succeeded in sharing the fruits thereof with the common man living in the rural areas of the country. Is this the independence which was envisaged by our martyrs? Is it the 'Ramrajya' which revered Bapuji had dreamt of? It is an issue to ponder over.

Sir, corruption is one of the major problems being faced by the country. Corruption has crippled the entire system of the country. Perhaps there is not a single department in the country where work can be got done without greasing the palm of the officials. Under the MP Local Area Development Scheme, an amount of one crore rupees is placed at the disposal of the Members of Parliament for the development of their respective areas. However, around 30 per cent of that amount is pocketed by the Government officials as their commission. That is what is happening in Palamu, Chatra and Gaya districts and we are unable to take action. To whom should we make a complaint? The authority to whom the complaint is supposed to be made is also involved in corruption. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what will be the future of the country? How shall we be able to imbibe the public life? We are unable to discharge our duties sincerely despite having good intentions.

Sir, though I do not agree with Shri Chandra Shekhar's statement that only 5% people of the country are corrupt yet with due apologies to him, I must say that though the figure of 5% may not sound very high, but going by the population of this country, this number comes close to 5 crore. These five crore people are occupying high positions and, imagine that the population of many European countries is lesser than this figure.

Sir, these people have assumed the role of fortune makers of the country. Independence of the country has become a pawn in their hands. They treat the rest 90-95 crore people as insects and invent new techniques of exploitation, atrocities and corruption.

Sir, a few Englishmen ruled over the country for 200 years and even after 50 years of independence the common man is suffering from exploitation and atrocities at the hands of a handful of people, when will this cycle of atrocities, exploitation and corruption come to an end? When shall we provide work to every hand and water to every field? When will the dreams of the martyrs and freedom fighters be realised and when and how shall we be able to bring prosperity to every Indian? This is something to be pondered over.

Sir, starting from the higher level, corruption flows down to the lower level in the same way as the rivers emerged from the hills and flow down to the plains. In my view if those occupying high positions are honest, their subordinates will also honest.

Sir, nobody thinks about the country any more. We are so much bloated by ego that none of us cares about the country.

Sir, there are two major reservoir projects in my constituency—Mohane reservoir and Tilaiya Dhadhar project. Had these projects been completed within the scheduled time many other areas in addition to my own constituency would have ushered in green revolution. It is regretful that both these projects are pending due to bureaucratic hitcher. In addition to providing irrigation and drinking water, these projects would have generated electricity and thereby helped in getting rid of drought in this drought prone area. I would request that work should be started on both these projects without any further delay. Sir, growth of population at a rapid pace is another major problem being faced by the country. Our population has increased by about 50 crore during the last 50 years and our achievements on the development front have been shadowed due to the rising population. Now-a-days the situation has changed to the extent that we are compelled to import foodgrains. We are facing shortage of foodgrains. Sir, it is essential in the interest of the country to take effective steps rising above the barriers of religions and castes to check the increasing population. Only then our country will be able to make progress.

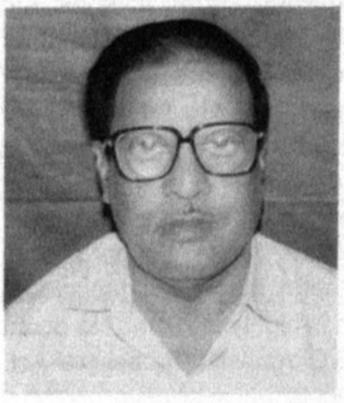
Sir, it is really a shameful and shocking fact that most of our children are deprived of good education even today after 50 years of independence. In my area, I have found that at most of the places teachers do not go to schools for teaching and only go to schools for getting salaries. At some places teachers are present but school buildings are not there and at some places only one teacher have to teach 200 or 300 students. Urdu teachers are sent in schools teaching Hindi and Hindi teachers are sent in schools teaching Urdu. This is happening due to a faulty education policy.

Sir, the kind of progress and development witnessed worldwide in the twentieth century is unprecedented and it may not match to the development during the coming period. But at the same time environmental degradation in twentieth century is also unprecedented. At present, the area under forest cover in the country has shrinked and rivers have been polluted. With continuous pouring of filth and effluents and the silt has reduced the depth of the rivers. Sir, our future generation will be adversely affected if we do not pay due attention towards environmental conservation. Sir, the whole world has learnt something from India. Aeroplane of today was known as 'Urankhatola' during the period of Ramayana. Nuclear weapons of today were in the form of

'Shakti', 'Agniban' and 'Brahmastras' of those days. Sir, we have huge potential of talent but we could not do justice with them. We should find our reasons for increasing brain-drain and should take measures to stop this phenomenon.

In the end, I would like to say that during the past 50 years the country could not make progress to the desired extent. Perhaps there may be some shortcomings. May be lack of will power or our leaders sacrificed the interests of the nation to fulfil self-interests.

Sir, country cannot make progress till persons occupying higher posts lack morality. We still have time to learn lessons from our mistakes. In place of accepting western influence we should enjoy and acknowledge our country's rich cultural heritage. Perhaps an era of transformation will start if we start translating our words into actions. Our bright future is awaiting us.



SHRI SANAT KUMAR MANDAL

[English]

SHRI SANAT KUMAR MANDAL (Joynagar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is a historic occasion, I pay homage and tributes to our martyrs and to the freedom fighters who have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Mother India. I specially extend my thanks to you since you took the initiative to convene the 4-day special session of Parliament to discuss our achievements and failures in the last fifty years. On Tuesday, you gave a call to start a second freedom struggle to free India from its various contradictions. I and my party support this call. Unless a united effort is made by all political parties the various problems that are confronting the Nation can not be eradicated.

I shall mostly confine myself to education, poverty, population and unemployment. In fact, all these subjects are inter-connected. It is very sad that even 50 years of Independence still nearby 42 per cent of our population live below poverty line. We have failed to give them a square meal per day despite several poverty alleviation programmes launched by successive governments. I am not saying we have not achieved anything. India has vast natural resources. But why a large chunk of population still live below the poverty line? We must introspect where we have failed? And we should reorient our policies and programmes. Poverty is a dangerous malady. It is the source of all evils. We must take a pledge today that during the next fifty years we should totally banish poverty from our own country. So that when the country will celebrate its hundredth year of Independence there would be no hunger, no poverty.

Another area of deep concern is how to check the rising trend of population growth. According to the background paper circulated to us, the population figure is likely to reach one billion by 2001 thereby relegating China to the second place as the most populous country in the world. In 1951 the population of our country was only 361 million. The population we have added over these years is equivalent to half that of China.

Our size and demographic structure have very vital implications for food security, nutrition, health, employment and education. We have to think how to check this growing population. In my opinion, if the special session of Parliament throws up some solution it would be a great achievement of our four day discussion. It is not an issue pertaining to government alone, nor the political parties. The entire sections of the country have to be involved. We have to start a massive campaign against the population growth and tell the people about its ill consequences. China has achieved stability by taking certain stringent method. We should now put our heads together and see how to prevent it.

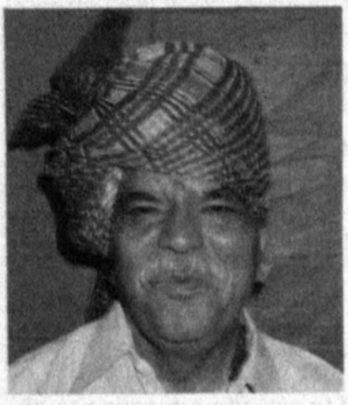
Unemployment is again another important issue. A large chunk of our work fore is still unemployed. After liberalisation government jobs are raduates declining. More and more youths are worried what they would do after they pass out from colleges. We have to create more and more developmental opportunities and opportunities for self-employment for which the direction of our education has to be changed. Instead of giving emphasis on degrees. We have seen how to give vocational training to more and more youth. Since the first five year plan the investment in education has increased from 1.2% to 3.9% by 1986-87. There is a proposal to increase the investment upto 6% of our GDP. But still we have failed to provide education to all. We have to fulfill our constitutional obligation to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they attain the age of fourteen years. Article 46 of the Constitution states that the State shall promote with special care the educational interests of weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Inspite of this obligation assumed by the State, there is little evidence

of equalisation of the educational opportunity in our grossly unequal society. In fact, the gap in the educational opportunity is widening. The highest incidence of illiteracy is still among these weaker sections of the society. Women and girls have the least educational opportunities. Under these circumstances I once again urge the government to include right to education as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

Sir, I do not want to take much of the time of the House. I have already supported your call to start a second freedom struggle. In my view if we unitedly start a sustained campaign against illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and rising growth of population, India will emerge as a front ranking nation in the world. Someone was referred to India as sleeping giant. We must make up this sleeping giant we must realise our potential. Unless we achieve these goals the coming generation will held us responsible. They will be ashamed of us for failing to solve the problems our illustrious freedom fighter gave us a free India. Let all of us try to give an India free from hunger, unemployment, illiteracy to our went generation.

Lastly, Many members of this House have expressed their concern on criminalisation of politics. Corruption and the need for immediate implementation of electoral reforms and Lok Pal Bill. The survival of country as a democracy will be in danger if these issues are delayed any further and the government fails to take effective measures. I would ask the government to immediately bring a bill on electoral reforms with special emphasis of government funding for elections.

The Lok Pal Bill, which has already been introduced in the House should be immediately passed.



VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI

[Translation]

VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, by the year 2001. A.D. *i.e.* Tenth Five Year Plan our population will reach one billion. Population wise we will the biggest country in the world leaving China behind at Second place.

Through Family Planning, during the last 50 years, we have succeeded in only 20 crores birth control. Our life expectancy has increased by 20 years and infant death rate has come down to half only. But against this, the South Asian countries have gone for ahead.

High birth rate, death rate of expecting mothers, decline in the population of women, increasing urbanisation, decreased per capita income, widening gap between the rich and the poor are some of the most worrying aspects. Inspite of close monitoring of the family planning schemes in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the results have been unsatisfactory. Population of the country has increased to 92 per cent. It requires immediate attention and top priority. Against 36 crore and ten lakh population in 1961, today our population is 96 crore which constitute 16 per cent of the entire population of the whole world. Annual rate of increase in our population is 2.14 per cent. By the year 2000 A.D. our population is estimated to be around one billion.

No doubt we have been making efforts to solve the problem of constant increase in our population and to some extent we have achieved success but that is negligible. Birth rate has come down to one-third. So far as gender ratio in our population is concerned, it is 926 women against 1000 men. In 1981, this figure reads as 938 women against 1000 men. The decreasing gender ratio is virtually a sign of danger. These figure actually hide the true face of our society behind them. Due to the pre-natal diagnostic technique, foeticide rate is increasing which is highly immoral. No doubt that we have passed Pre-natal Diagnostic Technique Act, 1994 but its implementation should be positive.

The death rate which had started coming down in the beginning of 6th decade is now again losing its pace. Decline in the birth rate has gained momentum since the 9th decade and so far it has not come down. So till 1991, during the last four decades, the birth rate has gone up. Most of our population is youth and nearly 36 per cent of it is below the age of 15. Population increase has hindered our economic growth to a large extent. Whereas the standing prices of our net national product have witnessed five fold increase, per capita production has just doubled. The production of foodgrains between 1951 and 1996 has increased four times *i.e.* from five crore tonnes it was increased to 19.8 crore tonnes. But per capita availability of foodgrains has increased only by 25 per cent. By the year 2011, our estimated population will be 116.4 crores.

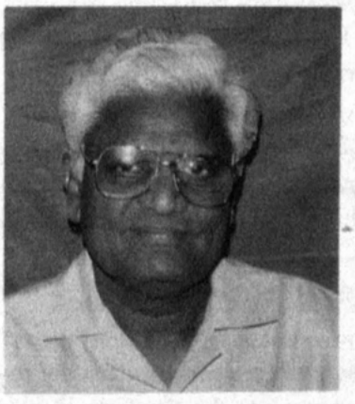
38 per cent of our total population is still living below the poverty line. Their condition can be improved only when this problem is accorded top national priority and we pay our attention towards poverty eradication constantly. We need to formulate and adopt a policy most suitable to the poor and women. To have a limited family should be the joint responsibility of married couples.

The person defying the norms of small family should be debarred from any elected office in future. A cabinet committee should be set-up to have a close monitoring of implementation of National Population Policy. It should be given political support and guidelines on policy matters. Efforts should be made to reverse the decreasing trend of gender ratio between men and women. Though Swaminathan Committee had submitted its report long back in May, 1994 but it is still under consideration. Its recommendations includes *inter alia* primary health services, health care during birth time, training to persons attending patients, contraceptive measures, incentives, role of organized sector, health insurance scheme, gender related issue, participation of people, information, education, communications and political support for Panchayati Raj. An another recommendation in respect of the introduction of a scheme pertaining to our youths, Non-Governmental organizations and our resources has also been made.

Population increase has hampered our economic growth to a large extent. Although our national production has gone-up five times but our per capita national production has just doubled.

Our population increase between 1953-54 and 1981-82 mounted heavy pressure on our agriculture land. This resulted in disintegration of holdings and consequently plough-land holding has gone up to 7.1 crore from 4.4 crore and the average plough land holding has come down to 1.67 hectare from 3.05 hectare.

It would be difficult to use latest agricultural technology in small holding for it may adversally affect the productivity of land.



SHRI K.S.R. MURTHY

[English]

SHRI K.S.R. MURTHY (Amalapuram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, as several Members have no doubt acknowledged the achievements we made in the last 50 years in the fields of Agriculture, Industry, Defence, Irrigation, Power, Education, etc., I would not like to dwell on these items any further. I would, however, like to reiterate that during the 50 years, we have succeeded in laying very strong foundations for a very healthy democracy in our country, more so when we look at the democratic radiations being pursued by our neighbours.

The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution have made it possible for about 25 lac people to be elected throughout the country to Gram Panchayats, Mandals, Zila Parishads, Municipalities, Assemblies and the Parliament. 1/3rd of the seats have been reserved for women which is a very great achievement. Though, decentralisation has been the main aim for several years, the State Governments do not take adequate interest in implementing this. The Zila Parishads are ruled more by the Ministers, who come from these districts. The MLAs fear these local bodies as their potential rivals and hence they do not like adequate decentralisation to take place. A Minister is appointed as District Review Committee Chairman in order to sub-vert the independence of the local bodies. Even today, the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) are presided over by the District Magistrates. This practice should be stopped and Zila Parishad Chairman should be made Chairman of the DRDA.

All the local bodies representatives including the Members of Parliament need training as several of them are not aware of their duties and responsibilities. There are institutions to train them. But no-one takes interest. Like any other service, public-men should also be trained.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes like JRY, IAY, EAS, DWCRA, TRYSEM though are good, have not made adequate impact in reaching the poor. The latest percentage of people Below Poverty Line in Bihar is 54.96%, Orissa 48.56%, UP-40.85%, whereas in Punjab it is 11.77%. Late Shri Rajiv Gandhiji said that 15% of these programmes reach the people and 75% go under corruption or various other methods. We must, therefore, make a serious review of the delivery systems so that the entire amount earmarked under these programmes reach the persons to whom they are meant. A special attention is necessary in those States where the Below Poverty Line continues to be very high.

Delivery Systems start with the Village Administrative Officer at the village level going through the Mandal Development Officers (Block Development Officers), then on to the Zila Parishad through the Project Director of DRDA and the District Collector. These agencies have become so corrupt that they collect money for identifying the beneficiary and it is generally said that if a loan of Rs. 5,000 has to be sanctioned, Rs. 2,500 straight-away goes into the pockets of these officers including the banker and only balance reaches the beneficiary. These officers are not in a position to act fearlessly as the entire bureaucracy has been politicised. Right from the Chief Secretary to the Village

Administrative Officer, they are not in a position to say 'no' to bosses namely the Chief Minister, Ministers and MLAs. There are instances where the Party-workers occupy the chairs meant for Mandal Development Officers and MRO's at the Tehsil level. These officers are scared of dire consequences like transfers to unimportant jobs or for raids by the Anti-Corruption Bureau.

In several States, these Government of India funds are even diverted for the purpose other than what they are meant for. The State's contribution ranging from 20% to 50%, hardly materialises and the States manipulate these figures to receive the Government of India funding. The DRDA earns lot of interest and the collectors spend this amount on items which are not authorised like airconditioners, cars etc. for their personal use. In 8th Plan, an amount of Rs. 30,000 crores was earmarked for the Rural Development and in the 9th Plan, it is proposed to earmark Rs. 60,000 crores. It is incomprehensible as to how inspite of these investments, we are not able to bring down the Below Poverty Line (BPL) to a reasonable extent.

Very often we are forced to compare our developmental process with the developmental process taking place in countries like China, Malaysiya, Singapore, Taiwan etc. Though we and the Chinese started developmental process at the same time, we cannot say that poverty of the order of India exists in China or in the other countries mentioned above. Corruption and lack of integrity on the part of both the politicians and the bureaucrats is largely and mostly responsible for this state of affairs.

An amount of Rs. 950 crores which was earmarked in the 8th Plan for abolition of scavenging, I am sorry to say, has not really reached these people. As a former Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Welfare, I had occasion to review this programme in several States in addition to the programmes of the Ministry of Welfare. To my horror, I found that all these moneys are diverted by the State Governments to other areas.

Is not it sad to see our fellow-men and women carrying night-soil on their heads even now? The legislation to banish dry latrines is long overdue and its implementation must be taken up on a high priority, with a severe punishment for those, who do not convert their dry latrines into wet. We must employ all these Safai Karamcharis, as watchmen, peons etc. in all government and public sector offices as a measure of rehabilitation.

Madam Gandhi introduced special programmes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes called Special Component Plan (SCP) for Scheduled Castes and Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) for the Tribals. It is unfortunate that no State Government earmarks 15% + 7% of their annual Plans for these two programmes as desired by the Government of India, nor the Ministries of Government of India have ever followed. The memorandum submitted by 150 SC/ST Members of Parliament to the former Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowdaji on December 17, 1996 still remains unattended. The recommendations made in this Memorandum naturally are not looked upon as realistic by the bureaucrats as they have no interest in these programmes.

The programmes related to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes suffer in several States for the reason that the officers posted to these departments are normally undesirable persons or unwanted persons. They are dumped here as a matter of punishment. There are States where very bright outstanding officers are posted also but generally the ratio of unwanted officers manning these posts is very high. The State Governments must be told to take special interest in these areas and post such officers who have the liking for these jobs and who are known for their outstanding commitment. They must be rewarded for having worked for about four to five years by special promotions of special appointments.

I must narrate how the politicians and the bureaucrats are insensitive to the common suffering of the poor people. On 6.11.1996, my constituency was hit by a *hurricane* killing thousands of people and destroying nearly four and a half lakh houses. Though it is more than 9 months since then, the State Government has yet to provide houses to those unfortunate poor. They are planning to build about 30,000 houses. We never know how soon they will come up. The Chief Minister's Cyclone Relief Fund and the various grants given by the Government of India are said to have been diverted for helping the ways and means position of the State Government. The State Government runs into over-drafts once every three months and it is no wonder these amounts are being diverted. The fishermen—who lost their boats and nets, the weavers—who lost their looms and yarn, are still on the roads looking for help.

A large percentage of the *subsidies* given for agriculture and fertilisers, I have a feeling, goes into the pockets of not the small farmers or marginal farmers, but very big farmers. Though the *land reforms* appear to have taken place in our country, still there are lands in the possession of several landlords far above the ceiling limits. Around 14 lac acres of surplus land is yet to be distributed and another 20 lac acres is pending in the Courts. It never occurs to any of our Ministers, Administrators or the Judges that this shall receive the attention as it could help better the lives of several

thousands of agricultural farmers. The Courts are obsessed with the Public interest Litigation Petitions, and the attendant publicity, but not about the poor man. Are the judges right upto the Supreme Court above board? How we hear of cases getting listed on a priority basis by the money that flows in these courts. There is no point in blaming any sector of Administration because corruption is a national virus affecting all systems of Administration. The executive and the legislature have surrendered their legitimate rights and duties and hence the judiciary has rightly taken to judicial activitism. This must be stopped in the interest of national integration as each institution should do the job entrusted to it rather than over-step its boundaries.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, it is unfortunate that the Government have issued orders classifying the Scheduled Castes into four categories *i.e.* Category 'A', Category 'B', Category 'C', and Category 'D'. This is a political move of the Government to relate dis-harmony among the Scheduled Castes. As a result of this, the two major groups of Scheduled Castes, *i.e.* Malas and Madigas, are fighting each other on the streets and the villages. No doubt, those sub-castes, which have not developed well, need lot of attention in the years to come. More economic programmes should be mounted up and especially in the field of education. I feel sad that I don't find a single Sub-Inspector of Police from the Scavenging community. The manner in which we should develop those sub-castes, which have not developed well, has not been attempted at all by the State Governments. The Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission Report was hurried up and it is unfortunate to find that he has not taken the 1991 Census nor has he gone deep into the position prevailing in the entire State in various departments. This is a subject on which Parliament alone should decide and not the State Governments.

There is a feeling that police was responsible for shooting *Gadder,* a famous ballard singer, and though it is more than six months, the accused has yet to be apprehended.

Atrocities on Dalits are around 93000 in the country. These include rapes, murders, arson, etc. We have seen people being murdered. Ultimately after five long years of trial, the judge, in most of the cases, acquits the accused for lack of evidence. The Government of India's direction to establish special courts has not been taken seriously by the State Governments.

BJP should demonstrate its love towards Dalits more prominently. As the six month's period of the BSP regime would come to a close in September in U.P., I would be very happy if BJP can pick up an SC/ST leader to head the BJP Government in U.P. Do they have the courage to do this?

Drinking Water still continue to be a big problem in several of our villages. In urban areas, we enjoy the luxury of 10 to 12 taps in a bungalow, whereas when it comes to the question of rural population, we prescribe certain norms for each house-hold. There are villages in India even today where our women walk 1 to 6 kms. to get a potful of water. There are villages which are affected by flouride and brackish water. Imagine, even after 50 years of independence, we have not been able to solve this problem. Similarly, every year number of houses get burnt by fire, by floods and cyclones. The Indira Awas Yojna, which is primarily meant for taking care of such beneficiaries, never reaches them. On the other hand, it reaches those whom the local MLA wants to favour. Quite often these beneficiaries are not eligible either.

The Employment Assurance Schemes and the *Prime Minister's Rojgar Yojna* have been converted into Party-Programmes in Andhra Pradesh. The Government of India guidelines are openly flouted, but Government of India never bothers.

There is no monitoring of any of the Government of India schemes in the States. The Chief Ministers' demand for transfer of all the Central Schemes to the States is frought with lot of difficulties as the Chief Ministers, though they claim to speak for the poor, hardly take care of their interests. Otherwise, why should rural water supply, rural roads and rural housing still be a problem today, because the beneficiaries are innocent people. Every politician takes them for granted. It is, therefore, not wise to transfer the Central Government Schemes to the States at all. On the other hand, Government of India must get these programmes computerised and monitored through NICNET etc.

We must admit 'what a bureaucracy is'. He is a paid officer whether he is a Peon or a Cabinet Secretary. Many of them have no commitment and they look upon their job as a job which ties them to office between 10 am to 5 pm. Some of these categories are paid so low compared to their foreign counter-parts and private-sector counter parts, they tend to take up extra works within the time, they are supposed to work. Swamy Ranganathananda of the Rama Krishna Mission described the bureaucrat even as early as in 1950 as 'wooden headed rule-minded, arrogant with no creativity'. They are neither responsible nor responsive. He is a tool with which the political masters have to work. Therefore, unless the political masters first prove to society that his job is service to the people and nothing more or less and once this message goes, a bureaucrat automatically gets converted and will not be able to do what he has been

doing all these years. Imagine how honest a Nation we were in 1947 and what we are today.

One of the very favourite schemes of Mahatma Gandhi was Khadi and Village Industries and Prohibition. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in fulfilling his dream in both these areas. The Khadi & Village Industries have a reputation of corruption and mis-management in spite of that in 1995-96, the total Production was Rs. 4026 crores and Sales Rs. 4429 crores. The net disbursements were hardly Rs. 1015 crores. They have created an employment potential of 57 lacs. This sector has not been given its due importance. The rebate which they have been enjoying for several years has been reduced. There is a huge back-log of rebate arrears too. Rebate on government purchase has been abolished. The interest rates to the Village industries is almost at par with the large industries *i.e.* 16% and above. In this Golden Jubilee year, we must see how best we can revive this branch of industry which has tremendous potential for employment. A special rebate of 15% to 20% should be extended throughout this year 1997-98 and all those back-log rebate arrears should be paid and rebate on Government purchases revived. This would go a long way in making them more economically viable. Streamlining of the organisation is of course not a serious problem and it should be tackled with all commitment and interest.

This reminds me that several *commissions* we appoint do not have men of ability and competence. They are selected for various reasons. It would be appropriate that all our commissions should have people who have a speciality in the organisation and also who are known for their uprightness and dedication.

Prohibition, unfortunately, though being practised in Gujarat has never been a success in any other State only because we have *no political will*. India would like to make money at the expense of human welfare. It is unfortunate if we do not rectify this even now.

Education which is at the root cause of our development has never received the attention due. As Swamy Vivekananda has observed 100 years back, Indian Education still continues to be bookish and our universities have never produced a single original man with the exception of the few Noble Laureattes. As felt by Swamy Vivekananda, we must introduce a system of education which is character-making, man-making and nation-building. In retrospect when I look at my own education, I do not think my Post-Graduate qualification does possess these three main ingredients of education. I therefore appeal to all the promoters of education especially the Minister for Human Resource Development and the Prime Minister to try atleast now to set our system useful. Self-reliance should be an important aspect of our education. Today we have thousands of doctors, engineers unemployed only because they have not been taught as to how they can be self-employed. There is enormous scope for the doctors if they are prepared to go to the villages. Similarly our engineers have enormous potential to become entrepreneurs. Enterprise is one thing which is missing from our universities.

Illiteracy can never be abolished by schemes of the Government. We must congratulate Kerala in this regard. The Kerala model should be followed throughout the country with whatever modifications we should have. I would also appeal to all the educated persons in our country to spare one hour a day towards teaching these unfortunate who are illiterate. Adult education and National Literacy Commission though are good in their nature, have not yielded the results expected of them.

We have been hearing about this for the last couple of years and we have been witnessing this for a large number of years. Corruption in public services is the greatest single threat to democracy. It should be fought on all fronts and at all levels. The Santanam Committee's recommendations have been given a go by and we are experts in appointing Committee and not following them up corruption is a sociological problem. Delay is one of the main causes. Undue secrecy in Government business is another cause. Contracts should never be finalised by a single man. They should be finalised by a Committee. Hoarding, mis-appropriation of public property and funds, adulteration of food and drugs should be handled with severe punishment. Lokpal is being discussed for number of years. Pending Lokpal legislation, I would appeal to all the Members of Parliament to declare their assets and even agree to get them published in the newspapers to show this country that we have a political will to abolish corruption and to put an end to the politicians, bureaucrats, criminals, nexus. This is the first primary step that all of us should take.

We should also introspect how people outside this Parliament House think about us. Hon'ble Speaker had even gone to the extent of threatening to resign when we did not behave ourselves Swamy Vivekananda said "bringing up a father" or "bringing up a son" is not the problem, but bringing up "one-self" is the real problem. How do we behave in this great House of democracy. There are said to be 40 criminals amongst us. Who are these 40? What should we do to these people? I personally feel that I do not deserve to be called 'Honourable' along with these 40 people. Either this prefix should be dropped from usage or the 40 people should be reformed. Very often I am pained to see how shouting predominate in this House. The debates are being televised

and how the younger generation takes to this. If any reform had to come to this country, it should start from this House, otherwise it has no value. All the excellent speeches made by the Members of Parliament in the last few days should be transformed into action. We preach one, and do exactly the opposite. We are known for this. That is why outside this House, we have no respect. People speak very ill of us. It is true that after independence, the rich has become richer and the poor has become poorer.

The Prime Minister has given a message that we should start *"Satyagrah"* to abolish corruption. This is a good idea but we need leaders like Mahatma Gandhi to lead the Nation. How many of us have that capacity. People must be awakened to asset their rights. People must be educated not to send criminals into the Parliament. People must be educated that they should not allow people's representatives to fool them for number of years. The Prime Minister has also announced a *Cell in the Prime Minister's Office* to curb corruption. This I don't think is going to solve the problem. We already have a number of institutions like CBI, CVC, State Vigilance Commissioners, State Anti-corruption Bureaus to look after this aspect of corruption in public services, but all of them have failed because there is *no political will* to curb corruption. The *Vohra Committee* Report has given a massive indictment of our institutions. The IB, the CBI and the Enforcement Directorate at Government of India level have all the information about the criminals, smugglers, anti-social elements etc. I appeal to the Prime Minister to computerise this immediately and appoint a team of devoted people with a sitting Supreme Court Judge to use this information for further follow up. The crime syndicates, Mafia organisations is the order of the day. The small time crook of today becomes Mafia Don of tomorrow and indulges in Narcotics, Drug trafficking, occupying lands and building, buying up bureaucrats, politicians, journalists and judiciary. We must have a 'national will' to fight this menace. Present criminal justice system is out-dated, tardy and ineffective. Major surgical operation is necessary. All escape routes should be closed. Businessmen, who have awesome money power should be stopped from doing wild and irresponsible business. Electoral laws should be introduced and funding of election by the State must proceed immediately and debarring criminals from contesting any form of election. All this in possible only when we seriously try to get back the Gandhian tradition of *truth, simplicity, austerity* and *integrity.* Can we do this? Is not this an uphill task?

Caste is a very important factor in national dis-integration. Today votes are sought on the basis of caste and caste remains a very predominant factor in rural India. I would appeal to all the Members of Parliament to take a vow that their children and grand-children should be married into castes other than their's. If we can set this example, it will have an electrifying results throughout the country. Let's also make it a law for all public-men to observe. Let's all drop the suffixes to our names which indicate our castes. Let' all behave as 'Indians'.

The *freedom fighters,* who sacrificed their lives, their families need special attention in this year. Pensions pending for freedom fighters should be sanctioned on a war-footing. We owe a lot to our *Armed Forces* for defending our borders, but it is unfortunate that we have not given a decent living to our ex-servicemen. Their rehabilitation, employment after superannuation when they have very good health and their land problems in the villages need immediate attention.

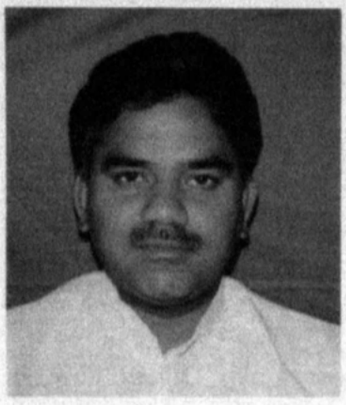
The recruitment and training of the police starting from the Constable upwards needs a total change. The various recommendations of the National Police Commission need to be seriously considered and implemented, not after another 10 years but immediately. I am really amazed when I see an old woman coming to a British Constable on the Oxford Street London and addresses him "Officer, how do I go to Oxford Street Tube Station?" We can't dream of such an attitude by any of our people towards a constable on the road. He has become more-or-less an enemy to the people rather than a friend. False FIRs are being written, Sections of Penal Code are changed all at the behest of the political masters and senior police officers. The entire police administration is politicised.

Our public sector has done reasonably well with all the limitations and lack of autonomy they suffer from. The bureaucrats in the Ministry must stop their interference with the running of the public sector units. The Boards of the public sector should be professional and should not have any bureaucrat even from the Finance Ministry on them. Full autonomy should be given to the Boards and the CMDs. At the end of every six months, if the CMD does not perform well, he should be held responsible, and a new CMD appointed.

The *inter-state disputes* on several matters, mostly on irrigation, need a fresh approach. These should not be allowed to go to Courts of Law where undue long time takes place. Respective States should behave as partners of this country and sit down under the leadership of the Prime Minister to settle their problems. The feeling that we are 'Indians' first must come in all our deeds.

In the matter of foreign policy, we have, for a long time, given the impression that we are a big-bully brother to the neighbourers. This should change. We have so much in

common with our neighbours. They should be allowed to enjoy the fruits of our efforts in various sectors. What the West has done in exploiting our industrial resources, we should not do to our neighbours. In matters like VISA etc., we should be more liberal without expecting reciprocity. The moves to establish friendship with Pakistan should continue to engage our attention. They have their own domestic problems which creates problems for us. We must, therefore, behave like an elder brother with all the South-Asian countries and extend our hand of friendship, peace and non-alignment to all of them.



SHRI G.A. CHARAN REDDY

SHRI G.A. CHARAN REDDY (Nizamabad) : Sir, the infrastructure scenario is characterised by severe demand-supply imbalance, supply of facilities for out stripping the demand. The opening up of the infrastructure sector for private sector participation as part of the process of the economic reforms needs a serious and creditable follow up so that non-government capital flows are truly substantial at the same time relieving pressures on the Government budget.

The total infrastructure investment projected in 1994 in the perspective of the first five years is about Rs. 450,000 crores and Rs. 750,000 crores for another five years.

Coal accounts about 85% of total primary sources of commercial energy and about 67% of total energy consumption in the country. Its productivity and out lay are low. This sector is languishing in inefficiency on account of monopolistic environment.

The problem afflicting the Indian coal industry are manifold.

(i) Poor quality coal and bottlenecks in the local movement.

(ii) Low capacity utilisation of washeries.

(iii) Growing dependence on import of cooking coal.

(iv) Administered prices.

The areas of concern are :

1. Inadequate availability of coal for power sector due to production and movement constraints.
2. Inadequate domestic availability of cooking coal of required quality for the need sector.
3. Low productivity in underground mines.
4. Inadequate private participation.

Though installed capacity of power generation as in 1996 is 85,000 MW, fresh capacity creation is retarded by lack of resources, procedural delays and inter-state disputes. 79% of hydel potential remains untapped.

1. Thermal plant load factor amongst the state electricity board, is only 58%.
2. Transmission and distribution losses are order of 21%. Power supply charges are below production cost, gap being Rs. 1.23 per KWH.

   17 State Electricity Boards have accumulated an incredible deficit of over Rs. 18,000 crore (March, 1996).

Sir, without radical structural changes in the power sector the current demand-supply gap for power may be 25% of the Peak-load Demand by 2000 A.D.

Electricity generation in the country which was only 4.1 billion units (KWH) in 1947, increased to about 350 billion (KWH) by 1995. Registered a compound annual growth rate of 7.5 per cent. Despite this, the power sector has been afflicted by serious storage of supply vis-a-vis demand.

Therefore, drastic steps to improve the power should be the main aim of the next fifty years without which the country cannot progress.

A large part of investment on the Railways under the Five Year Plans accounted by the works designated to maintain/increase capacity on the existing Railway system so as to meet the traffic demand arising from the economic development of the country and only small part of the investment has been devoted to the expansion of Railway system to new areas.

In spite of impressive achievement the growth of Railways has not kept pace with the growing demand of the National economy.

As a result the share of Railways in total traffic has come down. In the case of freight traffic, the share of Railways which was 88 per cent in 1950-51, by 2000 the share of Railways in goods traffic is projected to decline 43.5 per cent.

This is a matter of great concern as the Railways is very efficient and safer mode of transport. The fall of rail share in the total traffic is due to the inability of Railways to generate additional capacity to meet the growth of traffic.

The adequate capacity of the Railways has been in turn mainly due to low investment and declining budgetary support.

Sir, in the Railways budgetary support on Plan outlay has come down from 75% in the First Five Year Plan to about 22 per cent in the Eighth Plan. The increased reliance on market borrowings to finance rail projects has led to continuous increase in the proportions of re enue required to service the borrowings. High cost of borrowing from capital market has reduced the net surplus to the Railways for investment.

Falling share of Railways in the Plan outlays:

Railways share as percentage of total Plan outlay fell from 10.3 per cent to (upto forth place) to 6.3 per cent (in the 8th place).

Until and unless Railways reach to each and every corner of the country, the development of India is not fully achieved. The next fifty years requires Railways expansion and improve goods traffic.

Road transport has emerged over the past decade as the major mode of transporting freight and passenger traffic in India. The share of road in the movement of goods and passengers has increased significantly over the years 1950-51, road carried only 12 per cent of freight and 26 per cent of passenger traffic. By 1995-96 the share of roads in total movement of freight has increased to 60 per cent and that passenger to 80 per cent.

As per the Economic Survey 1995-96 the ratio are expected to extend to 65 per cent in freight and 87 per cent in passengers transport by the year 2000 A.D.

Road traffic has been growing 9 to 10 per cent and this has placed excessive strain on the National Highways and the State Highways. The total number of vehicles has also grown up from 0.3 million in 1951 to 25.3 million in 1994 and it is expected that number of vehicles will increase to 54 million by year 2000.

Sir, but the fact is that the main road network comprising National and State Highways has not matched this traffic growth.

The National Highway system is the main arterial transport system of the country. Road length under this system is about 34,000 Kms. which works out to be less than 2 per cent of the total road length but carries approximately 40 per cent of the total traffic.

Sir, the expansion of National Highways has been by only about 55 per cent from about 20,000 Kms. In 1951 to 34,000 Kms. in 1995 and that of the State Highways by 118 per cent from 60,000 Kms. in 1951 to 1,31,000 Kms. in 1995.

Sir, the main roads have also not kept pace with the traffic demand in terms of their quality. Out of the total 1,65,000 Km., the length of National and State Highways, only 2 per cent of the length is of a four lanes and 34 per cent of two lanes while the remaining 64 per cent length is composed of a single lane road.

Sir, the inadequate road networks have led higher transportation costs which have also severely eroded international competitiveness of the Indian economy. The economic losses due to bad condition of the main roads are estimated to be order of Rs. 200 to 300 billion per annum.

Sir, I feel that the main roads comprising National and State Highways need strengthening and capacity augmentation.

2. The maintenance of roads is more important than their upgradation and expansion.

3. Maintenance of roads is a neglected aspect of road system in India.

4. Such a large road network built at a huge cost is showing signs of disintegration and deterioration.

5. It has been observed that availability of funds for maintenance generally does not exceed 50-60 per cent normal requirements.

The quality and capacity of National Highways have to be enhanced consistent with the traffic expansion and overall economic growth of the country.

The deficiencies in the road network have contributed to safety hazards besides entailing higher transport cost. These Highways will therefore require major augmentation of capacity as well as structural upgradation.

Sir, the road sector has been progressively under funded in successive Five Year Plans. The allocation of funds for roads constituted 6.7 per cent of the total First Five Year Plan. Public Sector outlay which has come down to only 3.2 per cent in the Eighth Plan.

In the case of National Highways the investment 1.4 per cent of the total Plan outlay in the Firsts Five Year Plan has declined to only 0.6 per cent of the total Public Sector outlay in Eighth Plan.

According to the estimate overall resources requirement to meet development and expansion needs of National, State and Super National Highways would be Rs. 320 billion from 1996-97 to 2000-01 and an additional Rs. 360 billion between 2001-02 and 2005-06. How do we mobilise fund is a question mark.

National Highways Act to allow Private Sector to construct and charge a fee on toll will permit the Private Sector to participate in construction, maintenance and operation of roads on Build operation and Transfer basis. So far the response from Private Sector towards the privatisation process in the road sector has been relatively lukewarm.

So the road development is very necessary. The next fifty years should lay greater emphasis on this sector.

Sir, India occupies an eminent position in the Civil Aviation sector as compared to other developing countries having a large fleet size owned by the two national carriers. Air India had a fleet of 28 aircrafts as on December 31, 1996 and the Indian Airlines has 53. The country has a total 92 civil Airports besides 28 civil enclaves at the Defence Airports.

There has been significant decline in the performance of Air India during the last few years. Its show in the international air traffic passing through India has gradually declined. This is due to non-induction of additional aircraft capacity and partly due to low yield from operations in 1995-96 less was 272 crore against a profit of 41 crore in 1994-95. Indian Airlines has been incurring losses for the last several years. Its financial performance began to decline since 1989-90 from that year till 1995-96 losses amounting to Rs. 1000 crore. Out of the total 92 domestic international airports and 28 civil enclaves, 35 airports are remunerative.

In Air transport, the infrastructure should be strengthened through greater investment including that from the private sector Communication and Navigational facilities should be improved in the interest of safety. The capacity of National Carriers need to be strengthened and Private Sector efforts for further strengthening the fleet, improve the services and bring down the traffic may be welcomed.

Our National Carriers should become self sustaining of improving their operations, service and financial performance.

SHRI R. SAMBASIVA RAO

SHRI R. SAMBASIVA RAO (Guntur) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am indeed proud that I am a Member of this August House at a time when the nation is celebrating its Golden Jubilee of Independence. Hon'ble Members of the House have expressed themselves on various issues. I wish to articulate only those points that to my mind are relevant in the present national scenario.

The achievements the nation has made in these fifty years are no doubt quite commendable and remarkable. However, the availability of rich natural resources, the vast areas of fertile lands and the ability and capability of Indian farmer, if properly made use of, we should have made much more progress and development.

In this context, I want to place on record the crucial contribution that our national leaders tirelessly made towards imparting modern ideas to the masses, leading to modernisation in our industrial and agricultural sectors. On this occasion we cannot forget our young dynamic leader Rajiv Gandhi who worked hard to take us into the 21st Century as a really modern state.

We are satisfying ourselves perhaps by presuming that we have reached food self-sufficiency in terms of agricultural production. But the growth rate in agriculture has been stagnant, rather declining. India, no doubt, is considered as an agrarian country and we had the experience of carrying out the green revolution to the Gangetic East, Brahmaputra valley and Central India by making adequate investments. But a glance at the figures reveal that the people living below poverty line in the country are much more in the States like Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Dadra and Nagar Haveli where the investments in agriculture sector are huge. But still we were not able to fight poverty and failed to provide the basic necessities of food and shelter to the majority population living in the rural areas of our country.

Sir, while we are contended with making significant achievements in every field, it should be our endeavour to achieve food self-sufficiency in the real sense of the term by providing food, shelter and employment to the rural people of this great nation. Only then we can really claim that the Independent India has become a true welfare state as visualised by Mahatma Gandhiji.

Sir, in order to achieve self-sufficiency in agriculture sector, we should revive the programme of carrying out green revolution and irrigate and cultivate each and every inch of the land available. This can only be achieved if the water of the Great River Ganges is diverted to other areas so that the farmers in central and South India can have the benefits of irrigation.

Sir, for this we should immediately take up and review the proposal submitted in the year 1960 by the then Union Irrigation Minister, Dr. K.L. Rao to divert the Ganga waters from the Northern part of the country to other parts essentially to tackle the problem of flood situation. Though the Government had appreciated the proposal of Dr. K.L. Rao, the same was not taken up for implementation because of the lack of funds. Unfortunately the losses incurred year after year because of floods and also due to lack of proper use of the land lying uncultivated is much more than the expenditure involved in implementation of the project mooted by Dr. K.L. Rao. It is high time that the Government of the day should immediately take up the proposal for a review to divert the Ganga water in order to bring each inch of our land under cultivation. This would certainly enable the Government to raise the economic and living standard of the farmers of our nation.

Sir, the infrastructure sector plays an important role in the economic development of a society. As a part of the process of the Economic Reforms programme, though the Government has opened up the infrastructure sector for the participation of private sector, and though the response is also encouraging in areas like power, petroleum, mining, etc., still the avoidable taboos and restrictions which are causing much discomfort for the development and growth of this sector, are to be removed forthwith, because these administrative restrictions are indeed blocking investments from the private sector. Hence the Government should really adopt a pragmatic approach and remove all the obstacles and thereby pave way for free flow of investments from private companies.

In the infrastructure sector, transport is a crucial factor that is needed for development.

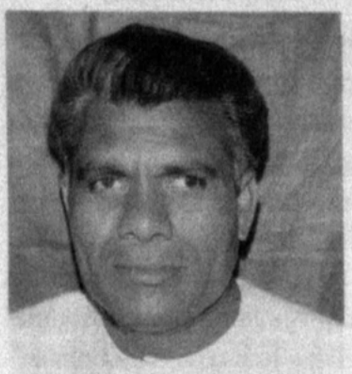
While we are boasting that the Indian Railways, the principal mode of transport in the country, is the second largest system under a single management, it is the need of the hour that the Government should review the Indian Railway System inherited from the British.

No doubt the Railways have achieved impressive growth since Independence. Significant development through modernisation to render good service has also taken place. However, there is enough room for improvement if we compare our performance with other developed and developing countries of the world.

The Indian Railways which was established in the 19th Century and functioned as a Departmental Undertaking under the British Empire, is still continuing to work in the same manner. Though for there exists a Ministry of Railways headed by a Cabinet Minister, the functioning of this vital Ministry through a Board, like that of an Undertaking, should immediately be changed to that of any other Ministry of the Union Government and a Senior Indian Administrative Service Officer of the rank of a Secretary with similar hierachial set up like any other Ministry, should invariably be given the charge of the administrative, operative and implementation aspects of the policies and programmes of the Government of the day, keeping in view the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Further, the Roads have also emerged as a major life-line in freight and passenger transport. It is high time that the Government should immediately remove the imbalance between demand for transport facilities and the supply of the same. The problem of poor maintenance of existing road network can be overcome, only if this important infrastructure sector is given proper attention.

Lastly Sir, the Independent India, the largest democracy in the world, has undoubtedly made progress in every field. But the vital issues like poverty, illiteracy, the ever exploding population, the gulf between the poor and the rich, the ever increasing problem of unemployment, that are confronting our society, are not properly addressed and unless and until we find solutions to remove the miseries of our poor people, we cannot consider ourselves to be the citizens of a free and Independent India. Prior to the Independence, we were under the grip of the Imperial Rule and now we are under the grip of the evils of poverty and unemployment. We all need to make concerted efforts to overcome these problems so that we really become the citizens of a free and Independent India.



SHRI PUNNU LAL MOHLE

[Translation]

SHRI PUNNU LAL MOHLE (Bilaspur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the main plea behind the Britishers' intransigence of not granting freedom to India was that India and Indians were not fit for home rule. But after Independence India has proved that it is the largest and most successful democracy of the world where all sections of the society enjoy equal rights and where women and downtroddens are standing shoulder to shoulder with high castes. Not only this there is compulsory participation of the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Legislature, Executive and Judiciary in India. India is one among the few countries of the world where one third of the seats in Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local bodies are reserved for women. Besides, a Constitution Amendment Bill providing for reservation of one third seats in the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assembles is under consideration of the Lok Sabha.

During last fifty years eleven general elections for Lok Sabha were held. The Governments have also been changed four or five times but all this has been decided by votes without any violence. The Indian democratic system has now got more credibility and validity. The poor and economically, socially and politically deprived people for centuries are now playing more active role in preserving democratic values than the so called elite. Women captive in the boundary walls of the Houses are now electing their rulers themselves. It can be termed as the success of the democracy that a simple woman belonging to a downtrodden Community of society is the chief minister of the largest state of U.P. and a person of the same community is going to adorn the highest office of the President. Even today the credibility of Indian judiciary is ranking high amongst the other countries of the world and the Election Commission of India which is entrusted with the responsibility of conducting elections for the office of the President, the Vice President, Members of Parliament and Legislatures is one of the most credible institution not only in the country but in the whole world.

Increasing participation of people in the politics and decentralisation of power is another most important and significant success of the Indian democracy. The process of decentralisation of power has been started by giving constitutional status to local bodies, village Panchayats, Block Panchayats, Zila Parishads, Municipalities etc. Under 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. Now even a simple agriculture labourer from most backward villages of remote areas very well knows the value of his vote.

Untouchability, which was a blot on the Indian caste system has now almost been abolished. Constitutionally the practice of untouchability is now a serious offence. Now no person can be denied access to religious or public places or taking water from a well or from seeking admission is an educational institution only on the grounds of caste and religion.

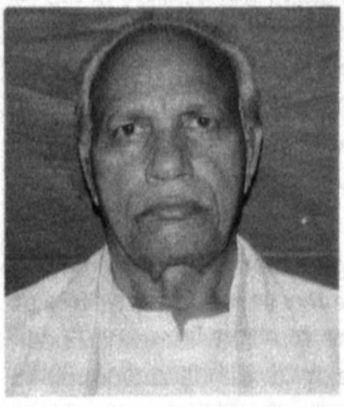
Today Indian society is based on the concepts of equality of justice and equality of opportunity. No discrimination is done against any person on the grounds of caste, religion, sex, language, region and race and there is equal opportunity for all persons in matters relating to education and employment.

Fifty years have passed since we attained Independence. Indeed it is a Day to be celebrated, more so because during these five decades we have crossed several destinations of progress, prosperity and development. And also because in a country where even a needle was imported now our country has become self-sufficient in many fields and we have achieved international level of efficiency in many fields. Today, India is considered one of the important countries of the world. But all these achievements are attributed to the political freedom we enjoy in this country and not of home rule about which our several leaders had dreamt of. Therefore, new chapter of our governance should be started from the Golden Jubilee of our independence. Marching towards good Governance *i.e.* true home rule. We should also look into the causes of our failures during this half century of our independence so that we can rectify those shortcomings in this march of progress.

It is true that the roots of the parliamentary democracy we have adopted after Independence are not in our culture. It is an alien form which we have adopted and hoped that we would make it suitable to the conditions and requirements of our motherland. Unfortunately, the people who got the opportunity to run this form of Government, were themselves strongers to their motherland. Thus a lot of efforts have been made to implant this alien form of Government but it did not get inputs according to the requirements of this country.

There are many causes of the miserable state of our democracy. But the patent factor is that we could not provide Indian bending to this democracy. The poisonous creepers of money and muscle power, caste, religion, language and communalism are destroying our democracy. But during these years our faith in democracy has taken deep roots and we have started to recognise the values of the parliamentary democracy.

Fifty years ago the persons who had expressed apprehension in granting right to vote to our uneducated, illiterate and poor people are now realising that they were wrong. Now they have to accept that our illiterate voter is not merely a mob. On every crucial occasion the voters have given their well considered verdict which even surpassed the wisdom of the persons having bookish knowledge.



SHRI JAGDAMBI PRASAD YADAV

SHRI JAGDAMBI PRASAD YADAV (Godda) : Sir, in this Golden Jubilee year of our Independence national language Hindi should be declared as the official language. Hindi and other Indian languages should be used in the celebrations and the functions organised by the Government.

To give these languages their due place in the administration and development of nation all government work should be carried out only in Hindi and Indian languages. Nation should be freed from the yoke of a foreign language and from a language which symbolises slavery and an independent identity of the Hindi and Indian languages should be established in the world.

English language and the English culture divide Indian culture, malign Indian pride and creat inferiority complex in Indians. The country and its people should get rid of this language of slavery.

Next to Chinese language, National language Hindi is spoken by the maximum number of people in the world. It is capable of giving expression to the latest terms of science and other subjects and today it is yearning to come in the fore front. Only then the people will come to know about its capability.

Now there is no time restriction on its use. The exemption of using English in the Ministries/offices falling in "A" category states should be done away with and they should do their cent per cent work in Hindi.

Railways are the blood veins of our country as they integrate the country and inculcate the feeling of unity among the countrymen. Similarly, banks are like the blood circulatory system of the economy. Today there are lesser conflicts in the world for conquering empires but the conflicts for acquiring economic superiority are gaining ground. Though there are no drastic changes in the position of the banks during the post Independence era yet they have started serving the national and social causes after nationalisation of banks. Further, the banks have expanded their functions by providing services to the farmers and villagers and thus improving their lot. Today the banks are playing an important role in linking urban and rural population through their thousand of branches. Today banks and society are interdependent for the development and progress.

Language is the medium of communication and Indian languages are playing this role throughout the length and breadth of the country. Hindi Language is a string to unite the all Indian languages and it also integrates and unites the country.

This year our country is celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence as well as the birth centenary of the great revolutionary son of Mother India, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. This is a unique year. This is a coincidental year of historical events in the history of Independent India. One hundred and seven year long war between France and England made the people of England to realise that the French Language, howsoever rich and advanced, was after all a foreign language. This perception culminated in their resolutely adopting the English language as their national language while the official language was French. The same story was repeated in Russia when Nepolean, set to conquer the world, reached Moscow, the Russians felt that their official language—French was a foreign language and they adopted Russian as their national language. Thus, both these countries became great nations.

Let us see our freedom in the light of following lines:—

"Mujhe tod lena van mali,
us path per tum dena fenk,
matribhumi hit shish chadhane,
jis path jayen vir anek."

During this golden jubilee year of our independence, we should compare the prevalent situation to make a introspection to visualise as to what was the vision of our valiant freedom fighters, martyrs and leaders of all hues about India as a free nation and where we stand today. We cannot deny the fact that the country has made a lot of progress. Not even a small needle was manufactured in colonial India while the country is now manufacturing almost all the most sophisticated items. Despite all the progress, why is our country reckoned among the backward nations in so far as public health, education, employment, development and country's defence are concerned? Had every child below 14 years of age been imparted education in 10 years, India would have been a country of educated and awakened people. One third of Indian population lives below the poverty line. One thing is clear that basic transformation did not take place in free India because we adopted only the name of Gandhiji not his thoughts. India adopted the legacies of Britishers. It is the tradition of the colonial rule to consider the public offices as a source of authority and gaining importance rather than doing service to the people. The English administrative system and their values were given recognition instead of Indian way of life which was a part and parcel of Gandhi's life. Our commitment to the British crown was broken on January 26, 1950—when India became a Republic. Even then India continued to be a member of British Commonwealth and the British Crown was recognised as symbolic head of the Commonwealth Countries. The contemporary Indian leaders were more interested in maintaining a status quo about the facilities of colonial system rather than changing them, I.C.S. system was retained in the form of I.A.S. system. This sense of foreign patronage was observed while training officers of administrative service even to the extent of the westernising their table manners and other general demeanour. A distance was maintained from these when these officers are to serve. Thus, the dichotomy of our society is reflected in the indigent section struggling to rise above poverty line on the one hand and the affluent section living a luxurious and prosperous life on the pattern of western upper class. This ever increasing gap between the poor and the rich had generated a sense of insecurity among the latter. Now, transformation can take place under public pressure alone. This elite class of society can be classified into three categories *viz.* the top political leaders, big industrialists and bureaucrats holding high offices—the three having no common factor. It is this elite class that has reaped maximum benefit of independence. They have monopolised power, resources and facilities. They are interested in conserving the ascendancy of English language to pare way for extending this monopoly to their progeny. English is both their shield and tool. The common man is, today, lagging behind in his struggle to earn two square meals.

The Constitution declared Hindi as India's official language but Lord Macauley's dexterious contrivance was not allowed to be analysed. Macauley introduced English not as a compulsory subject but promoted its use by giving it a prestigious position. In contrast, Hindi was declared official language but was not allowed to occupy pivotal place because restrictions were imposed on its use for 15 years in the first instance and later on for an indefinite period. It was stated that Hindi is gradually becoming the official language but how can one learn swimming without jumping into the pond or river. An endeavour is now being made to augment its usage in official work. To achieve that end Kendriya Hindi Samiti, the Parliamentary Official Language Committee and Hindi Consultative Committees have been constituted in all Ministries but the offices of the President and Vice-President and the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha Secretariat have been left out for some unknown reasons. Though official language implementation Committees have been constituted at all levels and under the Ministry of Home Affairs there is an Official Language Department to oversee and monitor it but its secretary remains a staunch propagator of English and keeps a constant watch on conservation and promotion of English. We may see here the way this Department works.

It chalks out an annual programme for progressive use of Hindi but the same has not been implemented even as an exception in 29 years till date. No time frame has been fixed for the reconstitution of Hindi Consultative Committee and it is not obligatory for anyone to attend its four meetings held in one year. It is headed by a Minister who may not convene its meeting even during his term of office and there is nobody to question him. In the process of progressive use of Hindi, computers and a dozen other modern softwares have emerged all of a sudden to implement 'Rajbhasha' in roman script which have imposed sophisticated curbs in the way of its use. Its use has now come to a standstill. Languages bank upon these software today. It is said that bilingual softwares are being developed now. But the facilities available in Roman/English softwares are lacking in Devnagari ones. Supposing that bilingual softwares have been developed, the question is who should make use of Devnagari softwares, why, how and for what purpose when all the files and records of the Government of India are written in Roman/English. Unless a remedy is found to this situation, the time, money and energy being spent in imparting training in Hindi, organising work shops without making it obligatory for the trainees to work in Hindi go waste. Moreover, the Heads of department or institution who are responsible for ensuring the use of Hindi in their respective departments leave it entirely to the Hindi officers who have no say or authority in the concerned department. It is the responsibility of the official language implementation

Committees to promote the use of Hindi but they do not care to do even their own work in Hindi.

Take the case of 14th September, it seems that Hindi day, like Tamil is celebrated as a mourners' day (Shradha Divas). The pro-English people distribute awards among the competing Hindi pundits in the Shradha amounting to Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 which values at Rs. 10-30 in the current market. This aspect has not been looked into so far English cannot offer 'Pindadan' to Hindi (can't get rid of it). Thus, the phobia of English haunts them every year and compels them to celebrate Hindi day.

The main question is how can Hindi occupy the position of language of progressive use, higher education and official work until English remains associated with vocational and employment avenues?

It is true that the Banks have to deal with the public and maintain public relations. This has necessitated full use of the official language Hindi, in every village, yet English remain the tool of internal functioning. It can be said that the efforts of the banks have helped in augmenting the use of Hindi and other Indian language. Therefore Hindi is a must for all those who deal with the public be it the ruler or the ruled the preachers or the traders or the industrialists or the voters seeking leaders. Hindi is the language of the whole nation, and is associated with its development, culture and honour and English cannot occupy this place despite its best efforts. Hindi enjoy the blessings of the saints who have been propagating Hindi for centuries through their sermons in Hindi. The learned and erudite saints of Gujarat and Maharashtra have contributed a lot to the development of Hindi. This is the reason why Hindi is progressing day-by-day by virtue of its simplicity, intelligibility and co-ordination without seeking the help of the Government.

That is why Hindi is taught and research work is done on it in as many as 150 Universities of the world and several countries telecast Hindi news and other programmes in Hindi on their electronic media. A majority of countries are of the opinion that Hindi should also be one of languages of the United Nations. But India will have to take initiative in this regard.

It is indisputably true that it is better late than never. One day Hindi will certainly acquire its rightful status of India's official language. The general public is waking up. The people are demanding partnership in the administration and developmental activities and the language of partnership would certainly be Hindi and the other Indian languages.

SHRIMATI PURNIMA VARMA

SHRIMATI PURNIMA VARMA (Mohanlal Ganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you, for giving me a chance to speak on this solemn occasion. First of all, I pay my tributes to the great sons of India who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the country. Let us come together to build a new India.

Sir, so far as values are concerned to what extent we have got freedom—we have to think over it. Somewhere on the wall of the Parliament House it is written that :—

"Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah Sarve Santu Niramaya,
Sarve Bhadrani Pashyantu Man Kashchid dukhbhag bhawati."

May all be in pleasure and prosperous, may nobody be ill, all may see good things and nobody suffers.

Today this couplet is losing its eternity. Democracy is in danger. The whole land of mother India from Jammu-Kashmir to Kanyakumari has come under one flag after centuries. The republic of India stand as a rock with pride and dignity. It is a matter of proud for us.

Sir, democracy is a Government by the people, for the people and of the people but today democracy is in danger. A period of 50 years is not a long period in the polity of a nation. However, this period is enough to know as to which direction the country is going. It is an open fact that selfish political leaders indulging in corruption have not only abandoned the resolution seeking prosperity of the democracy for the people but also have demoralized the people by making it ridiculous.

When we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our independence the views of some people seem to be right that we should wage yet an another struggle against present corrupt political exploiters.

Our post independent era is certainly an era of dispair but our history of freedom struggle is an epic of heroic deeds of irrepressible courage and sacrifice.

Today the country is being divided in small groups. The feeling of nationality have been disappeared from our life. Exploitation and injustice are increasing. The nation was reeling under the British Rule. We have to work for the second freedom of the country by taking inspiration from that chapter of freedom struggle. If we are not able to free the country from the grip of liquor and the liquor lobby, this struggle for freedom would remain incomplete. We have to strive unitedly for the integrity, prosperity and empowerment of the country. We should maintain the democracy. Ours is a country of diversity. Today there is no education in this country of diversity, there is poverty and the future of the children is in danger. Many children have been working in the hazardous industries but nobody is taking care of them. Sir, I would like to say one thing that in this Session the first question was asked by me regarding "elimination of child labour" but nobody had taken care about this. For some reason there was no question hour on that day. There is no justification for attending the sitting of the House by us unless we pay attention towards all these things relating to bright future of the country. Despite our political differences, our old policy of taking together all the people is the basis of our democracy. Democracy had emerged first in this country, so democracy is our legacy. The existing political system should be changed. Though we are proud of the achievements made by us but the expectations and the needs of the people are above all.

Had there been efforts to educate women and depressed persons of our country and had we been moved forward to take along with us all the women and the depressed persons in a pre-planned manner, we would have educated them and they would have certainly utilized their talents for the progress and development of mother India. When we have failed to do so, we are facing the demand of reservation. Our society is still male dominated society and that is why reservation for women Bill has not been taken for consideration. It might have severe implications. I, therefore, would like to submit that if we have to build a new India, we should ponder over the matter of reservation of women and education of women as well. Today women are working in different capacities from pilot to constable without any fear. Women are no less than anyone. It is imperative to educate rural women, they are the mothers of Mother India. Today we are neglecting our mothers. The Reservation for Women Bill is being delayed, it is a matter of shame. Sir, I suggest that there should be provision for education of women upto 12th standard all over India. Of course, we cannot imagine a better India unless the mothers are educated. We hope that India proceeding towards 21st century would become a new India at any cost and for this we would have to make sacrifice.

Nowadays we are celebrating 50th anniversary of our independence as golden jubilee. However, after an introspection, we find that India is still engulfed by poverty, starvation, unemployment, illiteracy and population. Even today, hundreds of people are living below the poverty line and several people are on the brink of starvation and have to work hard for earning their livelihood. Sir, though India is marching forward, yet lawlessness is being witnessed all around in the country. At the time, when we got independence in 1947, the leaders who made sacrifices for the country had never dreamt that the nation will yet caught in the grip of starvation, unemployment and corruption. The people who fought for the country's independence were known for their characters while on the other hand the present leaders are looked down upon with contempt by one and all as they are involved in corruption. Both Gandhi ji and Nehruji had never dreamt that corruption would became order of the day after independence. Even today when I go to rural areas of my constituency, I find that these areas are suffering from bureaucratic slavery. Even now people there are doomed in illiteracy. Though we talk of gender equality, yet our society is male dominated and the women are being exploited both within and outside the house, and our society is an orthodox society. Nowadays, we talk of reservation but the issue of reservation for women is being opposed on the plea that it has been witnessed that in the meetings of panchayats where reservation has come into force, the husbands of the lady member attend the meetings of the panchayats.

I would like to submit that male mentality is behind such attitude because males think of themselves as more intelligent and their ego does not permit women to be involved in power sharing. So it can be said that males, due to their own ego problems, exploit women. For example, a women is holding the office of the Chief Minister of Bihar out of compulsion because the husband wants to hold power in his hands through his wife.

Social system and illiteracy are the root cause of the population exceeding 90 crore. Rural women are not aware of the family planning devices and the size of their families to grow. Due to illiteracy the farmers are not aware of their rights. Rural areas are still devoid of primary schools not talk about inter or degree colleges there.

Even primary schools are located at a distance of 2 kms and in the absence of roads the villages are devoid of education facilities.

Sir, the nation is entering the 21st century but we still believe in gender inequality. Women in the role of mothers forbid their daughters to get education while at the same time they encourage their sons for education in the belief that their sons after getting employment will bring fortunes by ignoring the fact that girls can also fulfil their expectations. Girls can also became doctors and engineers. Girls can take up any job which will enhance the prestige of the family. Girls have the capability to take care of external and internal all type of requirements of the family because if a girl is educated, she will educate the whole family.

Therefore, if we want to inculcate a sense of confidence among women, education is a must and through education and with the cooperation of the elders in the family, a girl can also solve problems of the family.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to submit that behind the exploitation of women, the lack of education and social set up are the main causes. Any rape victim undergoes such social stigma and trauma that she has no other alternative but to commit to suicide on the other hand the culprit walks with his head high in the society. In our society for any widow it is difficult to get married again and in case of a widow who has a child also, remarriage is impossible. But such women are so much emotionally strong, self respect and capable enough to live only to rear up her the children. On the other hand, a widower with four children easily gets remarried to any spinster as the parents of the girl are happy enough to marry their daughter with him. Remarriage of widower and further birth of children add to the family size and population. These are evils in our society which need to be eradicated so that women could get a respectful place in the society. Attention needs to be given towards education. At present our youths are facing the problem of unemployment and if on this occasion something is not done in this regard, it will tantamount to committing grave injustice to them. Our country has progressed and will continue to march forwarded. It would be better if we enter the 21st century by taking with us the youths and all sections of our society.

Sir, I am happy that I have been given the opportunity to speak during the special session on the occasion of golden jubilee of India's independence. I have been elected for the first time and will always feel proud that I am a Member of the Eleventh Lok Sabha during whose term the golden jubilee of Independence is being celebrated and I was given the opportunity to speak.

SHRI LOUIS ISLARY

[English]

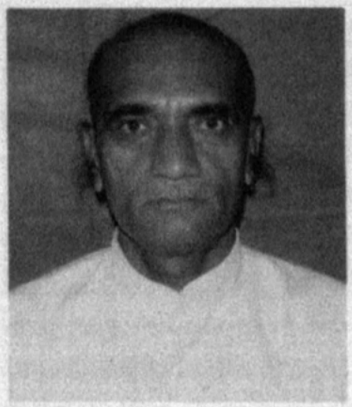
SHRI LOUIS ISLARY (Kokrajhar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must thank you for giving me a chance to speak in this Special Session of Parliament as a part of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of our Independence.

Sir, Hon. Speaker in his inaugural address had mentioned about the perceived political exclusion by denial of regional aspiration in many parts of the country as one of the causes of the present insurgency, unrest and societal tension.

Sir, since independence many new States have been created under the re-organisation policy. Sir, my Bodo people have also been demanding a separate State for the last 28 years. After several rounds of tripartite talks the Bodos had accepted Bodoland Autonomous Council through the signing of Bodo accord on 20th Feb., 1993. But the accord is yet to be implemented. We request both the Govt. at the Centre and the State to apply their judicious and sincere mind to solve the Bodo problem.

Alternatively, please give the Bodos what is their due: create a separate State of Bodoland within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

To absorb the misguided youth of Bodo community create a separate para-military Bodo Regiment.



SHRI HARIVANSH SAHAI

[Translation]

SHRI HARIVANSH SAHAI (Salempur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am laying my speech on the table of the House. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to lay my speech on the table of the House on this occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of our Independence.

It is a matter of regret that even after 50 years of independence, we could not provide education on an uniform pattern to all our people. My suggestion is that uniform education should be made mandatory to all the children upto the age of 14 years throughout India. Different types of educational institutions should be closed immediately.

The farmers have suffered a lot during the last 50 years. The prices of the agriculture commodities are fixed by the Government whereas the pricing of industrial goods is done by the Factory and the Mill-owners themselves thereby the financial condition of the farmers is deteriorating gradually. This year potato crop was sold at thrown away prices. It got rotten also. The Government should fix remunerative prices for the agricultural produce but it is not done till date. The farmers are becoming poorer day-by-day.

The manpower in India is available in abundance as compared to the other countries of the world. That's why they are passing through machinery age. Same is being followed in India. That's why manpower in India is being wasted. We should formulate such schemes in the country so as to utilize this manpower. In this regard I would like to give a suggestion that in our country one family should have one particular profession or trade whereas at present one family is pursuing different professions or trades at one point a time. My suggestion is that one family should have one particular profession only but ownership of that profession should also remain with the family. This system will provide job to the people and our country will prosper.

The corruption in our country is flowing from top to bottom. I demand that all bank accounts and deposits in the country should be frozen and currency notes should be demonitized and jobs should be provided to the people according to their qualifications.

Housing facility is not available to every citizen of the country. Some person are having big houses containing asmany as 20 rooms to live in whereas there are families whose family members numbering twenty are forced to live in single room. So, one room should be provided to each person. This will solve the housing problem.

Drinking water is not available to all the people in the country. Therefore immediate provisions should be made to provide drinking water facility to all. The right to work should also be included in the Constitution.

All the people could not enjoy the fruits of independence, as a result of which the number of people living below the poverty line has increased. It should be controlled. Adequate irrigational facilities have not been provided so far. Such facilities should be provided.

The river water is not being utilized fully. It is available in abundance. This water should be utilized for generating electricity as well as for irrigation. Extravagance should be controlled.

JUSTICE GUMAN MAL LODHA

JUSTICE GUMAN MAL LODHA (Pali) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am recalling the days of 1942-43, when I had participated in freedom struggle and burnt the stage meant for Britishers with phosphorous. We are celebrating today the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. But, I regret that India has been divided.

It is also a matter of regret that half of our Kashmir is in Pakistan and we have not yet succeeded in getting our land free from China. We could not also get Tibet free.

I am sorry to say that we could not implement Hindi as our official language nor could we stop cow-slaughtering.

My suggestion is that we should amend our Constitution to ban cow-slaughter. Rajasthani language should be included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution.

We should provide stability to our unstable Governments and adopt the Presidential system in our country by amending the Constitutions. I oppose the aspersions beings caste on the judiciary and I appreciate the judicial activism.

I believe that only judiciary has made it possible to check the spread of corruption. We should appreciate this. Some people with vested interests are opposing it because there are number of cases of corruption against their leaders.

My suggestion is that we should again constitute another Constituent Assembly to make amendments in our Constitution. I agree with the views expressed by Shri Antulay ji.

I am sure that we all will support that Ram Mandir should be constructed in Ayodhya to celebrate this Golden Jubilee year of our independence and build a new India. Like Somnath we all should have an unanimous view in regard to Ayodhya also and pay our homage to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives to get this temple free.

We will succeed in our second freedom struggle only when we give up our pseudo-secularism and hypocracy. We will achieve complete freedom only when we are able to eradicate poverty and illiteracy completely from our country. I would also request you to pay your attention towards development of backward States which includes my State, Rajasthan also.

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum) : Sir, I have a suggestion. Hon. Members who do not have their speeches ready in typewritten form may say that they are laying their speeches on the Table and submit their speeches later.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will have to end this Session. I think, the hon. Speaker is very keen that at 1.55 p.m. we must conclude our Session. Therefore, time is also a constraint to everybody.

Now, the hon. Minister, Shri Srikant Jena will take twenty minutes. All others will have fifteen minutes.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA

THE MINISTER OF TOURISM AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SRIKANTA JENA) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must, at the outset, congratulate the hon. Speaker of the House and you and the other Chairman for this long debate that we have had during the last five days. For almost 62 hours, we have engaged ourselves in this long debate and nearly 215 hon. Members have participated in this debate, which is a historic one. Also, many other hon. Members are now laying their speeches on the Table of the House, as directed by the hon. Speaker, which will also form part of the record.

It has really created a lot of interest not only inside the House but also outside. Let the Press report anything, but the people in general have taken this debate seriously. For the first time, we have found the Members deliberating on different issues of concerning the entire nation. The Members sat till morning day before yesterday and yesterday also they sat upto 8.30 a.m. Shri P.C. Chacko, the Chairman, was presiding over for eight hours which is a record. He broke your record. He was in the Chair for several hours.

During the debate a lot many issues, like strengths and weaknesses of parliamentary democracy, the coalition politics in our country today, the state of affairs of our economy, population growth, regional imbalances, science and technology, poverty, unemployment, education, electoral reforms, criminalisation of politics were discussed. Mostly, each Member was highlighting on a particular issue on which we have to not only deliberate further but also to concretise the action. After fifty years of our Independence, we are very proud that our parliamentary democracy has not only strengthened but also being strengthened day by day. It is true that there are weaknesses.

Recently, a Conference of Whips was held at Srinagar. Nearly 108 Whips and Chief Whips of Parliament and different State Assemblies participated in the Conference. They were unanimous to resolve that no Member, whether it is Assembly or Parliament, shall troop into the well of the House. No Member will shout slogans inside the House and that they would follow the directions of the Presiding Officers and maintain decency, decorum and etiquette in

the House. They have also resolved to strengthen the level of debate of the House. It was a good sign that during the sixty-two hours of deliberations, there was no interruption. There were Members from all parties. If any Member made any good point, it was appreciated cutting across the party lines. A lot many criticisms were also there. But they were all very constructive.

Today, in our parliamentary democracy, the main issue is whether the coalition politics will survive or not. Will the one-party rule which was there in the past be there or not? In my opinion, the coalition politics has already come and it will stay in the country because no party is in a position to get a clear mandate of the entire country. Coalition politics and coalition Government, in my opinion, is the best form of Government. In this form of Government, different political parties have a say and the opinions of different sections of the society get reflected. What have we seen in West Bengal? For the last twenty years, though one party is in majority, the other parties are in the coalition. The same thing is being followed in Kerala too. There, they have got the stable Government, economic growth and the political atmosphere is really better than that of any other State. Therefore, it would be better form of Government in the Centre also.

I do not criticise the Government which has ruled for the last fifty years. We have several achievements to our credit and we have lost several opportunities also. We have to achieve many things in the next fifty years that is ahead of us. The politics of coalition and mutual understanding have to be there. It is not just possible for any party to have the hegemony of control over this country.

In different parts of our country, regional ambitions and aspirations are coming up. To fulfil those aspirations and ambitions, regional parties which are having a national outlook have come up. We have to draw a parallel. It is like a garland and United Front itself is a garland.

During the last 15 months, there were criticisms, but till today, nobody could point out a finger against this Government saying that this Government has indulged in some corrupt practices or indulged in a scam anywhere. It is because there are checks and balances. The Steering Committee is there to keep checks and balances. The parties that are supporting the Government are watching every moment what the Government is doing. That is a good thing. Every action of the Government is being scrutinised by the parties that are supporting the Government. The parties that are there in the Government, small and big, have their say. Therefore, this kind of politics has to be there now and it is good for the nation. The reflection of it would be there in different parts or regions of the country. The aspirations of the people would be reflected in this kind of an arrangement.

Hon. Speaker, in his opening remarks, spoke of the second freedom struggle. As you know, I come from the State of Orissa, which—like any other State—was not lagging behind at that point of time when the national movement or the freedom movement was there.

I would not deliberate on any other issue, but would only deliberate on the regional imbalance. If you want national unity and integrity, then the regional imbalance has to be eradicated. Fifty years back, the scenario of the nation was that we had only 36 crores of population and now we have 96 crores. There is a threefold increase to our population. Poverty and unemployment have also grown by two or three times or even manifold. Today we have to look at the regional pockets for regional imbalance.

In 1932, Mahatma Gandhi went to Orissa first and from Orissa he went then to Mumbai. In Mumbai, he said that if one wanted to see poverty, then one should go to Orissa and see. Today, after 50 years, we see the same plight or even more acute. That means, it has not been eradicated. I do not say that the national planners or the Planning Commission or the national leaders have not done anything in this regard. I would only say that it has really not reached or percolated down to the grassroot level.

Orissa is a State in which 22 per cent of the population belong to STs, 16 per cent belong to SCs. That means, nearly 40 per cent belong to SCs and STs. Orissa has an OBC population of nearly 52 per cent and a minority population of two per cent. So, 94 per cent of the population of Orissa belong to SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities.

Every day when we look at any newspaper in the world, we find that there are some starvation deaths in Ethiopia. There is one pocket in Orissa where also—you would find this in every newspaper—one could seem some starvation deaths every day. As a Union Minister if I say that there is a starvation death, then people would start even attacking me and ask me what was I doing as a Minister in the Union Cabinet. We have to look at the ground reality. The reality is that thousands and thousands of people are reeling under poverty and unemployment. How do we eradicate them?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi) : What were the Governments in Orissa doing?

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Many Governments have come in the past and many more Governments would come in the future also. But the point is that I am not making this point only to address the Government. It is the entire House that should address this point.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : You are speaking as a Member.

[English]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I am expressing myself.

I would like to draw the attention of the Leader of the Opposition and other leaders of political parties here to this point. Orissa is very rich in minerals; Orissa is also rich in water resources, land resources, forest resources, etc.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI : Bihar is also rich.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I fully agree that Bihar is rich. Bihar is poor also! Bihar and Orissa are competing with each other when it comes to the question of poverty.

If you look at the richness of Orissa, you would find that Orissa has 57 per cent of bauxite ore of the entire country. Twenty-three per cent of the entire country's coal is in Orissa and 27 per cent of the entire country's high grade iron ore is in Orissa. About Manganese, 23 per cent of the entire country's manganese is in Orissa. Thirty per cent of the country's graphite is in Orissa and 99.9 per cent of the country's chromite is in Orissa. Apart from this, gem stones, diamonds and so many other things are available and they are being smuggled every day from Orissa. But the people are poor. 'Poor' is a very low word to be used. I would request Prof. Alag to put an accurate word as to what exactly can be told about that kind of poverty. This is the position.

On the other hand, as regards infrastructure over the last fifty years, if we look at the expansion of railways—the Minister of Railways is here—we can find that whatever position was there before fifty years is still there. Not a single inch of railway lines has been expanded. But the Indian Railways gets the highest revenue from Orissa. Orissa is the highest revenue earner as far as railways is concerned. The maximum revenue of the Indian Railways comes from Orissa. But the lowest allocation is given to the State of Orissa. I certainly thank Shri Ram Vilas Paswan for fulfilling the demand of having a railway headquarters at Bhubaneshwar. The railway headquarter of east coast has been at Bhubaneshwar and in the financial year, 1996-97, he has given the highest allocation to the State of Orissa compared to other States. But this is just a beginning. I am just explaining as to what has happened in the last fifty years.

If you look at irrigation, the infrastructure of irrigation is hardly what was 50 years ago. It is still that. Twenty-two per cent of the entire land was fit for irrigation and that is still like that. It has not been increased. Water is there; dam is ready but we do not have funds to have canals. Can you imagine that revenue from sales tax of Orissa Government comes to Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 crore compared to the State of Maharashtra which gets Rs. 10,000 crore as revenue from sales tax? Orissa cannot get money as per the Gadgil formula. Fertiliser consumption is the lowest in Orissa compared to the other States in the country.

11.22 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

It is not only that. If you look at the infant mortality rate, Orissa is in the first position in the world. Therefore, with poverty in a pocket, you cannot have national integration and unity. You cannot have a nation if people are reeling under poverty for the last fifty years.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : But there is a point. Compared to a State like Kerala, infant mortality rate and other parameters of standard of life are more or less equal to the Western countries like Europe. Therefore, you cannot say that the entire country is like this. If Orissa is lagging behind in these matters, I will tell you ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Jena, you can place your viewpoint.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Therefore, if this is the situation, then how to address problems relating to regional imbalance?

I will again draw the attention of Shri Sharad Pawar because he is the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra. All bank headquarters are in Mumbai and Maharashtra gets 30 per cent of the commercial bank borrowings. I do not have any grudge about that. But Orissa gets only one per cent of the banks credit of bank borrowings. How can you have the infrastructure there? It is not the point that I am belonging to Orissa and so, I am saying it. The point is, anybody who is not belonging to Orissa should have more say and deliberate on these issues. I do not grudge about it. Now, the investors who are coming to invest in India are not going there. The backward region like Orissa and particularly the Eastern region is totally neglected. It has been neglected and it will remain neglected if you do not address these problems. Therefore, how should we combat terrorism and insurgency? Thank God, the State of Orissa has been peaceful. There has been absolutely no communal disharmony in Orissa for the last 50 years as compared to the other States. It has been a peaceful State. There are a plenty of mineral resources. There are a plenty of natural resources. But we have not yet exploited those resources. If you look at the National Highways, it is the lowest in Orissa as compared to the national average. Unless we address ourselves to the issue of regional imbalance, the unity and integrity of our country will be in danger. We have to discuss this issue.

There are many national issues on which we can deliberate. The main issue of debate today has been 'corruption'. It should be debated. Can you imagine how many cars have been in Delhi over the last 50 years? If you fly over Delhi, Calcutta, Chennai or Mumbai, you will know the position. You will find some economic activities around Mumbai. Some factories are there. The industrial activities are there. The total number of cars in Mumbai are seven to eight lakhs. There is also some economic activity around Chennai. The factories are there. The commercial activities are there. The number of cars around Chennai is six lakh.

I was going through the reply of a Minister one year back. Today, 30 lakh cars are in Delhi. If you look at Delhi, there is no industrial activity around Delhi. There are no commercial activities in Delhi as compared to Mumbai, Chennai and Calcutta. What sort of industries are going on in the capital of our country? There are so many cars in Delhi. If you go to the hotels in the evening, the money is being spent there. If you scan Delhi properly, most of the issue of corruption will be solved. Let us scan it. Let us put our eyes on Delhi. What is happening in Delhi? Wherefrom this money comes which enables Delhites to spend so much money? I do not say about the Delhites who reside in Delhi. But the money flows into Delhi. The money flow in other parts of the country is negligible. As compared to other parts of the country, Delhi is flourishing. During the last 50 years, Delhi has flourished. Beautiful houses, beautiful farmhouses and gardens have come up. There are beautiful cars in Delhi. In each courtyard, you will find that three or four cars are waiting.

Now, you look at petrol consumption. I am comparing it with that in the State of Orissa. The consumption of petrol is the lowest in Orissa. If you want to give a prize regarding the consumption of petroleum products, you have to give it to Orissa. The people in that State cannot use it. We cannot afford it. But everything is available in Delhi. How should we combat the deficit in the Oil Pool Account? Delhi is responsible for that to the extent of 50 per cent. There is extravagance in this city. Wherefrom does this money come? We have to address those persons. I think, one day, Shri Sharad Yadav was also mentioning about it. Let us scan Delhi properly. The breeding centre of corruption is Delhi. If you cannot destroy this kind of breeding centre, you cannot really tackle the issue of corruption in the entire country. Therefore, let us apply our minds about it.

I fully congratulate the Prime Minister. There was criticism when the Prime Minister gave a clarion call to the people on 15th August that they should go in for *satyagraha*. What is wrong in that if the people fight against corruption? A fight against corruption should be there. Probity and transparency has to be there in public life. He has rightly said at the Red Fort that the people, in general, must come forward and fight against corruption. But let us first concentrate on the fight against corruption right from the breeding centre of corruption, that is, Delhi. Let us fight it out. Now, each MP is of a questionable character in the public eyes. Even of you have a good pen presented by someone, it is felt that the MP has taken it from somewhere.

This is the criticism. Let us have a one-day Session and let every Member of Parliament disclose his or her property and other assets. This is an important point to which all of us must address ourselves.

We have discussed many issues. My good friend Shri Chavan is not here. He made very good points on Science and Technology. The other day Joshiji also talked about it. About 40 per cent of our total export in the field of Science and Technology is due to the small scale and tiny sectors. It has now gone up to 60 per cent. Can you imagine that Muradabad itself contributes about 5 per cent export in the field of artisans? In the world market the Chinese artisans are making a hue and capturing market after market. Their artisans are so powerful that if you go to London, Paris, Europe or New York you will get things made in China. We can also do this by laying maximum emphasis on the small and tiny sectors. We must give the maximum priority to our artisans who can really do wonders. This way our economy will also flourish.

I will stick to my time limit. I will take only two minutes more. I know my limitations. I know that there are many more Members who wish to speak and at 1300 hours the Prime Minister has to speak. I will not deal with many issues.

I am really worried about the regional imbalance. There is frustration everywhere. I think almost every Member is meeting some or other unemployed youth who come to him with the request to get some job. I do not know what crime have the people of Orissa committed. In Defence, the State of Orissa gets the lowest representation and the State's quota has been diverted to the other States. We all know that in 1857 the Sepoy mutiny was there. The war of Independence started from Orissa in 1817 when Paika 'Vidhroh', Paika rebellion was there because of which the Britishers wrote that the people of Orissa are not fit for military. They banned the people of Orissa from joining the Army and this has continued till now. If you compare the percentage of our population with the representation of people in Army, it is very meagre. Similar is the case with regard to Railways. Railways have a work force of 20 lakh out of which not even 0.1 per cent of the people are from the State of Orissa. I am not grudging anything. Something is wrong somewhere. I would say that anybody who has access to Delhi can have all the benefits and the people living in far-flung areas are denied of those benefits. In the planning itself we have to address ourselves to these questions.

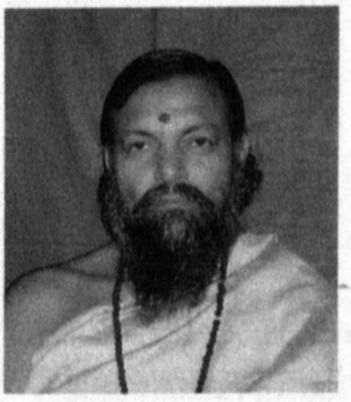
There is frustration everywhere. There is unemployment and poverty everywhere. The hon. Speaker has given a call. I would request the hon. Speaker, since he belongs to such a State and such a family that he understands what poverty is, to start the second Freedom Movement from the tribal areas of Kalahandi in Orissa. Let us make a start from Kalahanddi and fight the menace of poverty and unemployment. The hon. Speaker himself has given a call to start the second Freedom Movement to fight corruption, poverty and unemployment. I would request him to start

that Movement from Orissa. That will overcome the regional imbalance which is there in our country. That will result in a balanced growth which will give unity and strength to our country.

I thank the hon. Members belonging to different political Parties, not as a Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, who have contributed to the debate. I must thank the Chief Whips of all the political Parties who have really worked together as a team and made this a successful debate. I also thank the Leaders because the Chief Whips work at the command of their Leaders only.

Let this debate be fruitful in all respects. We talk of electoral reforms. What are electoral reforms? Shri Vajpayee had said that we make a false statement on the first day of our getting elected to this House that we spend a specific amount of money for election purposes while we spend more than that in reality. In each General Election, a minimum of about Rs. 5000 crore of blackmoney comes into operation. This is my assessment; I may be wrong. In the country today, blackmoney in operation is more than the whitemoney. There is blackmoney everywhere. How to address this question?

We have discussed many issues. To concretise it, I submit that—I may be called parochial, I may be called that anyway—poverty and unemployment are the main issues that have to be addressed to. Therefore, I request the hon. Speaker to take a lead in this direction, come to Orissa and start the second freedom movement from there. That will strengthen the unity and integrity of our nation.



SHRI PAWAN DIWAN

[Translation]

SHRI PAWAN DIWAN (Mahasamund) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I lay a copy of my speech on the table of the House regarding various issues discussed during the current session. It is an golden opportunity for all of us and the people of this country that the Hon. Speaker has taken a historic decision of calling a special session of Parliament which indicates how much high regard he has for the feelings of public representatives, MPs and common masses as well. It is an appropriate decision taken at the right time. It has been named as the second freedom struggle which depicts the horrible magnitude of the problems of corruption, criminalisation of politics, unemployment, poverty, security of common man and many other problems. Struggle is after all struggle, be it first or second. We are celebrating the 50th anniversary *i.e.*, the Golden Jubilee of Independence. In the first freedom struggle in 1857 there were many revolutionary patriots like Chandra Shekhar Azad, Khudi Ram Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Ashfaq Ullah, Aruna Asaf Ali and a number of other such people and this struggle was led by Mahatma Gandhi. Do we have such self-less and sacrificing leaders today? We have a single such person whose orders will be followed warmly by the whole country for the second independence struggle? There are a number of people who can take charge of the leadership of power, but who will lead this crusade. Will any extraordinary human being emerge out of this churning of the ocean? It is clear from the crusade for which you have given a call that the people against whom we are to fight have already achieved the status of Englishmen and are armed with money power and muscle power. They are not the people who will yield or surrender with ease. They will exploit every possible trick for their safety and victory. We are conscious that this fight will be non-violent like the first freedom, struggle but everybody has got the inkling of the conditions to follow.

We are none remembering the martyrs who lost in the oblivion that is why such tides are rising within our heart, but the second struggle for freedom is more complex and tough. There is a big difference between a fight with foreigners and our own people. At present the corrupt and the criminals are our own people our relatives and our own kith and kin. Overpowered by greed, we are helplessly looking to them. We lack courage, unity and detachment. We tremble when we look at them, we have utter darkness in front of our eyes and the will to fight has eliminated. This is a fight with our own self, it is a war. Within ourself we again need the message of Gita today. that is why Lokmanya Tilak had explained the secrets of Gita and Mahatma Gandhi called the Bhagwat Gita the Mother:—

> "Vedanta hamara swabhiman, shishtata hamari Sita hai, har shabd hamara siddha mantra, har saans hamari Gita hai."

We are standing in an another Kurukshetra. Myriads of Tribals, Scheduled castes and poor people who are either landless or are evicted from their land on one side. Inspite of 50 years of struggle, Satyagraha, demonstration they have not been given 'patta' of their land. How can they be given the assurance that the country has got independence when they would not get even an inch of land without

struggle that is why, I would say that it is only in Bharat where 'Mahabharata' took place and not in China or U.S.A.

"Jab shanti-mantra gaate hain tab hum hotey hain
kewal Bharat
Jab Kurukshetra chhid jata hai ho jaate hain
Mahabharat"

In fact when Executive, Judiciary and the Legislature become unable to keep things right only then situation of conflicts arises. Today we are suffering from crisis of faith and all of us have lost the trust of public. People are not pinning much hope from even then there would be a little hope in public. That is why we must arrive at some concrete conclusion and follow it honestly. This is the last chance and it should not be a humbug because if we won't do so, the public will do.

Criminals do not do good to anybody, it is only crime which is everything for them, and if we give them more protection they will sink us completely.

Tumne Jitne Jode Hain Vei Eik Eik Todeingei
Tumne Chhod Diye Lakin Vei Tumhein Nahin Chhodein Gei

Today, we don't require social reformers but self-reformers. Now a day everyone giving surmons to others, but they do not want to reform themselves. That is why there is overall deterioration.

Uddhren Datmanatman Natmanam Avsaadyet
Aatmaiv Hratmano Bandhu Aatmaiv Ripuratmanah.

i.e., we are our own benefactor and we are our own foes. We should grace not others but ourselves. We don't allow to resolve the disputes related to caste and religion for achieving political ends. When the fire of casteism is about to extinguish we rekindle it. That way there won't be any solution.

First of all the leaders have to tread the right path, as there goes a saying...

Gatamugatiko Loka our
Yad Yad Aacharit Shreshthah
Tad Tad Aiv Itaro Janah

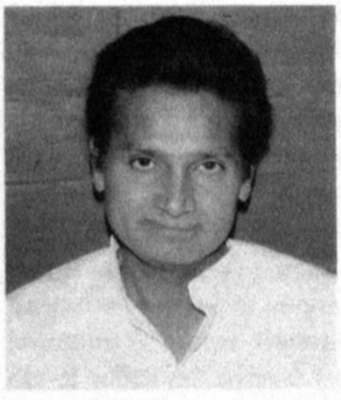
Like religions and castes this land is rich in mineral wealth and full of gold and diamond mines, which can help in liquidating the debts of the country, that is also disputed. How long can a debtor go ahead with self-respect. Black money to the tune of 800 crore dollars *i.e.*, 280,000 crore rupees is deposited in foreign banks. This amount is equal to the amount of our budget. Foreign debt upto March '96 is 9220 crore dollars. If the money deposited in foreign banks is repatriated, only then we can get rid from foreign debts. Second war of independence is about to be declared *i.e.*, we are slaves once again. We shall have to awake now, but unfortunately our leaders in deep slumber.

Bhrsht Itne Hain Ki Ginti Nahin Unki Yeh Kha Rahe Hain
Roz Roz Desh Ko Ubaal
Ramcharitmanas Kei Aur Bhi Aage Kumbhkaran Aaj Ke Sota Hai Paanch Saal.

Nearly half of the population of our country is literate and rest is illiterate, half of them are above the poverty line and half are below the line. On the one hand affluence is on the increase and on the other poverty is on the rise.

Paton Par Boondabandi Hai Jad Mein Dhadhke Aag
Jeet Sakega Mar Na Sakega Bhaag Sake To Bhag
Aadhi Maut Zindagi Aadhi Yeh Aadhi Barsaat
Aadhe Sooraj So Kya Hoga Poori Aadhi Raat.

Development has been there, if it has not benefited those for whom it was meant. That progress which cannot wipe the tears from the eyes of the poor is meaningless.



SHRI T. GOPAL KRISHNA

[English]

SHRI T. GOPAL KRISHNA (Kakinada) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we miserably failed to check Industrial pollution, noise pollution etc. resulting that one tenth of population in Delhi is suffering from heart disease or Asthama.

Stricter legislation is necessarry to check it.

Indian forests dwindled to 20% of land area. Average forest area of the world is 40%. Stricter legislation to stop deforestation is necessary. D.M./collectors must be penalised for illegal deforestation.

Social forestry scheme should be encouraged.

Dr. K.L. Rao, ex-minister suggested and devised a plan to connect all rivers to supply water throughout the country throughout the year. At present when Assam is flooded, other parts would be facing drought. Such things could be checked by inter connecting all rivers.

More powers to States in the federal set up in the country:

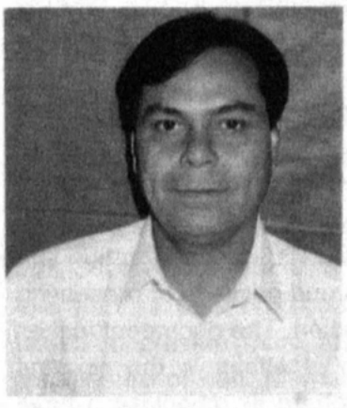
India being a vast country, it is not always possible for controlling each affairs of each State by the Union Govt. More powers should therefore be given to the States to rise to the occasion.

Now for instance when communal riots occur the State is to beg for more forces from the centre.

Parliament to discuss only national and international issues and not interfere on problems of States in general.

Much time is spent on unnecessary matters of trivial interest. For example, discussion on Maharashtra affairs recently was uncalled for.

Action should be taken for a immediate legislation to Lok Pal Bill, electoral reforms bill, Women's Bill and to stop criminalisation of politics while barring convicts from standing in election for atleast 10 years.



SHRI HARIN PATHAK

[Translation]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, many leaders and Hon'ble Members have expressed their views in this special session convened on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of Independence of our country.

I do not wish to take much time of the House. However, the important issue is whether we have been able to resolve the basic problems facing our country. I agree that we have lost more and gained less. We have lost the virtue of honesty in personal, social and political life. We have lost our values. Our life-style earlier motivated by the spirit of 'Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam' (the whole world is one family) after being involved in controversies related to caste, religion and language has turned into one of enmity even towards the country-wide family.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have not been able to resolve the present problems facing our country satisfactorily because of our indifference, political approach and party-based point of view. We are concerned about social evils and are committed to eradicate them. I believe that the practice of untouchability should be abolished as soon as possible and equality and harmony should be brought. All of us should be committed to this cause. Besides, it is an insult to the emotions and expectations of the people of the country if we consider any political party untouchable in a democracy. All the Members sitting in this House have gone to the people, explained the viewpoints of their party and have won election with the support of the masses. Many problems have been created only because the largest political party of the country, Bhartiya Janata Party is being considered as untouchable party at political level.

Sir, I want to submit that the political parties in opposition or in the Government should come forward to lend a helping hand in solving the basic problems of our country in the interest of the country leaving behind narrow outlook.

Sir, I demand that top priority should be given to the basic problems facing our country rising above the party politics. Concrete measures should be taken by the Government to solve the following problems.

(1) To check the rising population.

(2) To check the rising unemployment rate and to involve educated, uneducated and less educated youth in nation building activities by providing employment.

(3) To take all steps to check corruption and corrupt people and groups not to be spared.

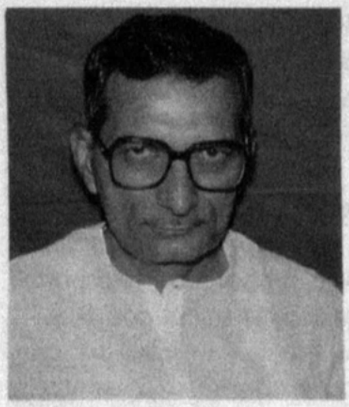
(4) Implementation of Finance bill for self-sufficiency and for alleviation of poverty.

(5) To strengthening the will for protection of the country and its pride in the new generation through new education bill.

(6) All of us should take a pledge to crush the widespread lawlessmen and rising trend of treachery.

(7) Alongwith industrialisation, a resolution to modernisation of agriculture and to increase the production should also be taken.

(8) I conclude my speech with the hope that in the near future our nation becomes most prosperous country of the world.



SHRI SHATRUGHAN PRASAD SINGH

SHRI SHATRUGHAN PRASAD SINGH [(Balia) Bihar]: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to lay my speech on the Table of the House.

Sir, you have given a suggestion in your inaugural address about making education job-oriented. Though an important issue, this is not a new issue. Earlier in Bud despach in 1854, Vardha Committee in 1937, Mudaliyar Commission in 1952-53, Kothari Commission in 1964—76 and National Education Policy in 1986-95, have made recommendations regarding making education job-oriented, still such an education is not being imparted so far.

The present system of education is causing havoc crores of youth are becoming terrorists as a result thereof. If an effective youth policy is announced even now in the 50th year of our independence and implemented without further delay, the future of our youth can be improved.

Sir, celebration of 50th year of our Independence could have been possible only due to the sacrifices made by the young martyrs. It has been aptly said :

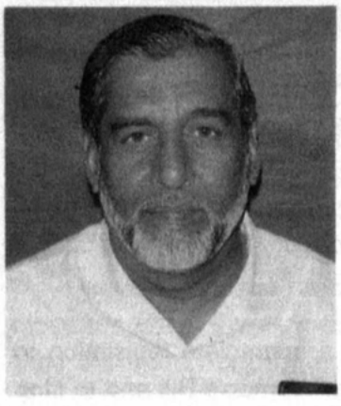
"Vijay Vitap Ko Vikach Dekh,
Jis Din Tum Hridya Judaoge,
Phoolan Mein Shonit Ki Laali,
Kabli Samajh Kya Paoge."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, United Nation Development Programme (U.N.D.P.) has published Human development indices on international level. According to which, out of 173 countries, India was at 135th position in 1992 and its development indices was only 0.38 as compared to 0.93 in respect of Canada, 0.80 for China and 0.79 against Malaysia. We have to make an evaluation of our achievements.

We have to take a resolution to remove the blot of illiteracy with renewed fervour on the occasion of golden jubilee of Independence. The literacy compaign should not be left solely to the official mechanism. Many Non-Government Organisations are showing better performance in the field of literacy compaign. I invite all of you to review the achievements made in the field of literacy movement in my home district Begusarai. There the literacy movement is being run successfully under the leadership of S.N. Azad.

Sir, so long as illiteracy is not removed, poverty can not be wiped out. The disastrous problem of rising population will also remain unsolved. Hence there is an urgent need to solve the problem of poverty, illiteracy and overpopulation.

I propose that the monitoring of concrete action on this important discussions should be done by the Speaker so that this discussion can become more fruitful.



SHRI P.M. SAYEED

SHRI P.M. SAYEED (Lakshdweep) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall begin my speech in the official language of India and shall then switch over to English in this historic Parliamentary session.

I was elected to this House in 1967 for the first time and this is the seat from which I made my maiden speech. 31 years have passed since then and during these years I have observed as to how this House has been functioning. First of all, I would like to congratulate you and through you the Hon. Speaker who had the proud privilege of presenting this document in this historic session. The document makes a mention of the present state of affairs in the country, whether it is in the economic sphere or otherwise. I have observed that there is hardly any aspect which remained untouched in the Resolution which India has to encounter.

[English]

In his address, the hon. Speaker has invited all of us to ponder over these matters. His highly perceptive and comprehensive document gives us details of every aspects prevailing in this country. I have seen everybody taking keen interest in these deliberations, and I particularly noted one thing. In good old days when somebody contributed something, appreciation used to come from all sections of the House, which has been deteriorating for quite some

time. I particularly saw one thing in this historic Session that everybody has been very keen, meticulously studying and placing their viewpoints in absolute harmony; and appreciation came from all sections of the House.

I am in agreement with the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that first of all we will have to uphold the dignity and decorum of this House because we will have to set an example to the countrymen. Therefore, I accept that at any rate we should not dispense with the Question Hour. That is one occasion where the Government of the day can be grilled. Secondly that running to the Well of the House should be banned. Thirdly, he has suggested that on the solemn occasion of President's Address to the Joint Session, there should be solemnity and there should not be any kind of disorder on that occasion. I agree with it in toto.

Here, we have been discussing for five days and this is the sixth day. The whole country is interested, media is interested, the whole world is interested as to what is going to happen. If we only deliberate and leave it at that, history will not forgive us. I say that we must be in a position to rise above politics, above everything. The national interests must be seen. Resolution detailing the time-schedule addressing the problems as to how we are going to tackle that is to be our one-point agenda. I am hopeful that the Resolution which the hon. Speaker with the cooperation of all the political parties and leaders is going to place before the House, is adopted.

I will only suggest three or four points. I know the time constraints. I know how painful it was to press the bell. I also lost my chance three or four times. When my name was to be called, I was asked to preside. In this very new Lok Sabha—you are also in the Panel of Chairmen—we are not in a position to deliberate here because we were asked to preside more and in the process we incur the displeasure of hon. Members.

I give the first point. That is the integrity of Member, probity in public life, and accountability that should be the first point to be addressed today. We should have faith in the system and the deliberations or the actions that we take. If there is no accountability, there would be no faith in the system that we have adopted to pursue our activities. Therefore, accountability, that is, from civil servants to the political Executive, from political Executive to the Legislature, and from the Legislature to the people at large, must be there. Whether it is bureaucracy or any other field, there must be accountability and that should be the first agenda to be attended to because we have to be transparent in our life.

I think I must confess here that for the past eight terms I have contested and returned here again and again. I have already been screened and scanned in such a small area. Therefore, my conduct, my social command, and my wealth should be known to the public. Then only, reverence and respect will be developed towards the representatives of the people and the system to which we have wedded, to deliver the goods.

Sir, we have attained only 52 per cent of literacy. Literacy is the basic problem which is to be addressed. In spite of our men and resources applied for eradication of illiteracy, we could only attain 52 per cent of literacy.

I think it was Shri Sanat Mehta from Gujarat who said that let us resolve ourselves to eradicate this problem. The total eradication of illiteracy will cost Rs. 27,000 crore. We must find it somehow and see that in our priority list that is to be found. A time schedule should be there because solution to this problem finds solutions to many other problems.

For example, solution to population control. We have grown from 33 crores to 96 crores today. Is it that we have not applied our mind to this problem? Is it a fact that we have not given importance to this problem? We have given due importance. We have substantially invested our men and resources but still we could not achieve full results. What matters is the mental attitude.

Shri Fatmi was referring to many countries which have adopted population control measures. Here also nobody is against that. But the trouble is the programmes drawn in Delhi may not be suitable in some parts of the country. It all depends on local conditions and local methods. These have to be reviewed and then results will definitely be achieved.

Literacy percentage in the country will have to be raised first. Sir, you come from Kerala and Kerala is a State which has achieved 100 per cent literacy. Education has spread all over Kerala and substantial amount of their revenue earnings are invested. The result is 100 per cent literacy there. That also takes care of population control. Therefore, we will have to find resources for eradication of illiteracy. It requires Rs. 27,000 crore, as has been mentioned by some hon. Members. We will have to make a mention about this in this Resolution.

Population control is also a must, if our country wishes to develop. We have grown from 33 crores to 96 crores today. By the turn of this Century, my goodness, we are going to be number one in the world as far as population is concerned. If that is the case, whatever measures we

take, economic or otherwise, will be in vain. Education is a must through which we will be in a position to make an impact on the control of population. The methods which we have been emphasising to control the population will have to be reviewed and effective measures are to be adopted.

Sir, I know, you are looking at the watch before you. I do not want to get the caution bell before I conclude. So I will not take much time.

Sir, the youth is frustrated in our country. Hon. Speaker has already mentioned in his Document why there is unrest among the youth of this country. Here also the cause of this problem is not providing effective education. Since the beginning when we got freedom, mostly the HRD Ministry was handled by eminent educationists in this country, but unfortunately, without any results because they have not realised that the education that we impart should have a bearing to the employable skills. We have been only inculcating skills to produce clerks. Unfortunately, that is the position today.

Sir, I come from the smallest constituency and because of my insistence in Island Development Authority, they have accepted that three years' compulsory education in fishing should be there. Now, we are getting the results. With this, we will also have to be market oriented. We will have to see how best we will be in a position to tailor our education to suit our economy. We will have to apply our mind to that. We must do it on a war-footing. Otherwise by the turn of this century, we will have more frustrated people with degrees but without jobs. The number of educated unemployed is estimated at 15 crores.

The former Speaker, Shri Shivraj V. Patil has made a very valuable point. He has asked how are we going to look after these educated unemployed people who are growing year after year. We are not going to give them jobs. This unemployment problem is to be solved, otherwise our frustrated youth will resort to all kinds of activities including terrorism, insurgency and all forms of violence.

That will be a perpetual threat to the very fabric of our unity of this country. Therefore, frustration should end. The unemployed youth must be given dole which we are now having. Rupee one crore is given for each MP from Local Area Development Fund. That is how, we must find some fund and see they should also be given some subsistence allowance at least.

Then, let me come to poverty alleviation. We have one positive point. Many Members said nothing has taken place. Many Members said many things have taken place. In 1947, after our declaration as the Republic, what was the situation prevailing then in this country? Can any new generation Member say that we have been importing fountain pen and hand pins? No. That was the situation in this country. We had gone even with a begging bowl to the United States. Rotten meat was imported under PL 480. That was the situation.

We have faced three wars. No country in the world has faced like that. Yet from importing pins, now we have come to missiles. I am not complacent for that. But at the same time, we should not forget that our architects, that our leaders of this country have given and contributed their part. Again here, above all party politics, people have given their appreciation. I am very glad about it. What we have to do is more and more funds have to be generated. That is why, six years back, we had opened up our economy. But I do not agree with the liberalisation for the sake of liberalisation. Shri Sanat Mehta has again said, let us put our heads together and whatever is suitable to our soil, we will have to accept it and we should not blindly follow liberalisation. In China, what they are doing? Accordingly, we cannot kill our own indigenous industries. We will have to take protectionist policies. Of course, that we have given up. At the same time, we will have to protect our indigenous industries to the extent required. Just for the sake of it, if we blindly follow liberalisation, I do not agree with that. I agree with Shri Sanat Mehta.

Sir, here almost everybody has mentioned about the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission Report. I am also for that. I was pained to see that there was not even a word from our leaders. Democracy is applied everywhere in our country. There are seven Union Territories. There is no democracy whatsoever. No one has pointed that out. Have the leaders forgotten that there are seven Union Territories? What is the ailment for that? It is because we are not sharing the power, we have not given a serious thought to decentralisation of power.

Rajiv Gandhi was a professional pilot. He got the 73rd and 74th Constitution amendments passed. Where have they implemented?

I have seen the Press report. Shri P. Chidamabaram is complaining about the State Governments that the parties which are in power at the States are not giving the power to the lowest units. Panchayat Raj is implemented only in the form. In the content, it is not implemented. As for its implementation part, as Shri Sharad asked, where are we? We have no administrative machinery. For anything and everything the Central Government depends on the State Governments.

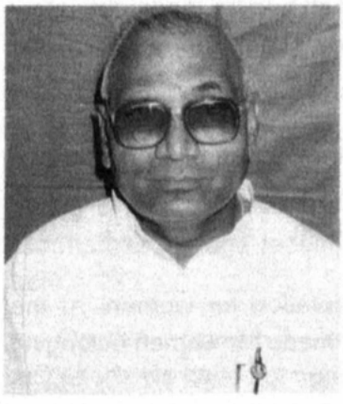
And the State Governments want the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations to be implemented from Delhi to the State Capitals, and from there to the Villages.

I demand that in our Resolution, we will have to find that a three-tier system, will have to be vigorously pursued within a time schedule. People like us who are living in far-flung areas do not have anything.

Sir, I know, you want me to conclude. I conclude by saying that we will have to chalk out this programme by containing population, by educating people, creating means for livelihood for people, liberate the economy to achieve its full potential, practice cooperative federalism including practising truly decentralised governance. If we can implement this Agenda then we shall achieve social, economic and political justice.

Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Those hon. Members who are placing their speeches on the Table, may please do so, but the test should reach the Table Office.



PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a matter of great happiness that Hon. Speaker has called upon the countrymen to wage the second war of independence by convening this special session of the Lok Sabha. We heartily welcome his call and also pay our tributes to all those great revolutionaries, martyrs, patriots and national heroes who sacrificed their lives for the cause of country's freedom, democracy and democratic ideals by supporting the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and leaders of other parties.

Sir, A poet has aptly said:

"Hum kya the, kya ho gaye, kya honge abhi,
Ayo milkar vicharen, desh ki samasyaen sabhi."

While on the one hand this occasion of Golden Jubilee of our independence offers us an opportunity for celebrations, on the other hand, it also inspires us for self introspection. This is an opportunity to make an assessment about our achievements and failures. We have to think whether we have been able to make India of the dreams of our great revolutionaries and martyrs. We have made a lot of materialistic progress by constructing big dams, establishing heavy industries and by developing a network of other industries and commerce which have shown us the way to progress. India is the largest democracy of the world. During the past 50 years, we have had 10-11 general elections and the people of India have brought about major political changes without any bloodshed. But I am distressed to say that even after 50 years of our independence there is a gap between the people and the Government. This gap is growing. Hence there is a need for coordination between the two.

We have failed to wipe out poverty, starvation, unemployment and corruption during these 50 years. The slogan of 'Roti, kapada aur makan maang raha hai Hinustan' (the people of India are yearning for bread, clothing and shelter) has beocme a burning problem today. The malaises of the likes of regionalism, linguistic differences, separatism, extremism, nepotism and selfishness are continuously aggravating. The feelings of nationalism, patriotism and devotion to the nation are getting weakened. Hindi saying: "Hum rahen masti mein, aag lage basti mein" lucidity explains the growing selfishness among us. Disrespect and contempt is being shown towards the Parliament, Legislative Assemblies, parliamentary democracy and statutory bodies, criminalisation of politics and politicalisation of criminals are on the increase. This situation is really horrible.

We have to give the prime importance to the nation. We must treat the nation at par with the God and keep the national interest uppermost. Otherwise

"Gar naav dubegi to dubenge saare,
na hum hi bachenge, na saathi hamare."

Therefore, we must resolve today that—

"Na izzat de, na ajamat de,
ya rab mujhe watan ke waste jeene ki himmat de."

"Jo bhara nahin hai bhavon se, bahati jismen rasdhar nahin,
hridey nahin wah pathar hai, jismein swadesh ka pyar nahin."

"Let our India be great" should be our resolve.

"Sarvajan hitai, sorvajan labhai" should be our motto. We should take a resolve to march ahead by forgetting all political differences and by uniting ourselves. We should strive with a strong willpower to root out illiteracy, poverty,

diseases, pollution and corruption. Success is sure to come our way. India will become beacon light of the world and reclaim its old glory. The nation will emerge stronger.

India has to lead the world in the 21st century. Let the citizens of this country become patriots, honest, hardworking, truthful, non-violent and humane. We have to undertake economic development by forgetting petty differences.

"Jhoom Utho E Bharat Ke Veero,
Tum Ho Takat Se Bharpoor,
Ek Baar Phir Maar do Thokar,
Karo Shatru Ko Chaknachur."

We have to bring about the equality, affection and harmony by waging a war against the social evils like untouchability, communalism, exploitation and atrocities against women. We have to check the unhindered entry of multi-national companies in order to encourage the growth of small and rural industries. We have to strengthen the feeling of Indianness by awakening the Indian pride and self respect in accordance with the Indian ethos.

Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati the first propounder of Swarajya had said that "Swarajya is far better a Government than the good administration provided by foreigners. As such we should defend the Independence, national unity, integrity and sovereignty of the country with dedication.

SHRIMATI SUBHAWATI DEVI

SHRIMATI SUBHAWATI DEVI (Banshgaon): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to table my speech in the House on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee year of Independence.

Even after 50 years of Independence it has not been possible to provide drinking water to all the people in country. Employment avenues have not been possible for all. Importance of manual labour has been lowered. India is aping other countries. This results in making people doing manual labour jobless. Plans in the country should be chalked out with a view to getting the work done manually.

A provision should be made in the constitution that a person can take up one particular job only. In the present case the same family possesses land for agriculture and its family members are also employed in other jobs. A family should have only one benefit out of these. This will help the country make progress and everybody will get job.

Irrigational facilities have not yet been provided to all agricultural land. Plans should be prepared in this regard and allocation of funds made accordingly.

Day by day the number of people living below the poverty line is increasing. It should be checked. Employment should be provided to one and all.

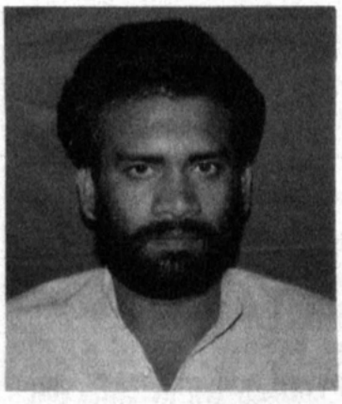
Unemployment is increasing day by day.

A provision for uniform education should be made for all people. Uniform and free education should be provided to all children upto 14 years of age.

Exercising right to franchise should be made obligatory in the country. Cottage industries should be set up in the country.

Allocation of funds has hitherto been discriminatory. Arrangement should be made to make equitable allocation of funds on the basis of population.

I demand 33 per cent reservation for women. At the same time reservation should be made for women belonging to all backward classes.



SHRI SUKH LAL KUSHWAHA

SHRI SUKH LAL KUSHWAHA (Satna) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to table my speech in the House in the special Session convened on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of country's Independence. While making my point in this regard, I would like to say that, we have taken freedom, that the freedom fighters got for the country very lightly as if the people in power have no responsibility

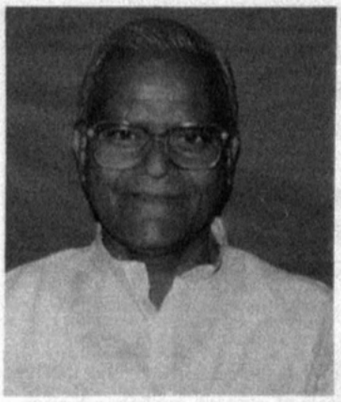
to make their sacrifices meaningful. Due to the negligence the happiness of 50th Year of the country's freedom could be shared by a handful of people. The celebrations should have been organised throughout the nook and corner of the country and shared by all and sundry. It is incomplete.

All the hon. Members spoke about the cause of insecurity gripping the country in their own way. But I can say without hesitation that country's security is threatened not by Pakistan, America, China, but by the people propagating Manuvad in the Indian culture. The Indian society and social unity has been threatened. We will become strong when all the citizens of the country are given the status of human beings and social equality alongwith political unity is maintained in the society. Long discussions are held on various crimes and assaults, yet the dalits and backwards continue to be untouchables even today and humiliated because they are low grade people. The upper caste people are committing the biggest crime by afflicting these atrocities on them. This crime has not been checked with a strong will power. Committing Sati is also an act recognised by the aryan culture, but people like Raja Rammohan Roy and Dr. Ambedkar checked it timely as per the directives given by the Constitution. Now it is totally checked. Similarly untouchability and religious hatred can be checked for building a strong and secured India. Though the political leaders of the country have long been talking of political reforms, but their not talking of social reforms has enough reasons for raising fingers of doubt at them.

On this occasion I would like to submit that despite best efforts we have not been able to consolidate the country into one caste and one religion. Aurangjeb's sword was not successful to make India a Muslim country and Pushmitra Sur's ruthless sword could not make the entire country as Brahmin even after beheading a Buddhist monk and his followers. As such it is useless to think of such a probability. Instead everybody should discard religious sentiment and encourage humanly feelings to strengthen humanly relations in the entire country.

Some of the hon. Members made a suggestion that Agni and Prithvi missiles should be deployed along the Pakistan border. While paying due regard to their sentiments, I would like to say that pen is more powerful than the gun. There are large literatures in the country which can inspite destruction of humanity. All such literature should be eliminated. People coming across such literature should be reformed so that they develop a feeling of honouring the national character and nationalistic feeling and become patriots.

In the end, I would like to say that in our country minerals right from coal to diamond is produced. The nature has gifted the country with all resources and deposits freely. But social hatred has prevented the country from reaching the pinnacles of progress. Japan has earned a good image in the international forum because they could strengthen social brotherhood. They take iron ore from our country only. As such let us review our history of the country. Let us take a resolve to make the country a golden bird again and remove fear from the minds of millions of bare bodied and hungry people in next 50 years.



SHRI S.P. JAISWAL

SHRI S.P. JAISWAL (Varanasi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for having permitted me to speak in this special session of Lok Sabha which has been convened to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence. I shall speak here on a very serious issue relating to the country's existence. In order to find out the nexus between the criminals, mafia gangs, industrialists, persons holding public offices and political leaders, Vohra Committee was appointed on July 9, 1993. It consisted of four other high officials besides Vohraji. He had submitted his report to the Government on October 5, 1993. Three years and nine months have elapsed since then.

The officials appointed to the Vohra Committee had doubts whether the Government will take any action or not. The report of the Committee mentions about bureaucrats, industrialists and politicians and states that the reexists a nexus between them. After all who are those people playing with the interests of the nation, its populace and its pride. This poses a grave danger. It is a threat to the nation. Remedy to it must be found out without delay. It is for that purpose that I have brought this motion before the House. Mr. Speaker, Sir, political parties are also to be blamed for it, particularly the party which has ruled this country through many decades after the country's Independence. Taking eve from that party many regional parties have surpassed it by many times. The message has reached this House. The nation can be saved only if the political parties or politicians desist from giving protection to the criminals and the tendency to do so is got rid of.

Para 3 of the Vohra Committee states—the CBI has informed that all over India, the criminal syndicates have established their separate authority over and above the law. The commands of the strongmen running large in small cities and rural areas has become a common sight. Mercenary killers have become parts of these organisations. The nexus between the criminal gangs, police groups and politicians has how become an open secret throughout the country. Not that all this has begin today. It has been going on for a long time. There is the justice Wamchoo Committee report of 1971. What action has been taken by the Government in this regard? Whether it is the present Government or the past ones, all of them lacked the will to check criminalisation and teach a lesson to anti-social elements.

Santhanam Committee report that was submitted during Shri Nehru's times brings to notice that all this was going on. I would like to know what efforts are being made to curb the parallel Government?

Due to criminalisation of politics a clear nexus has come to be established between the criminal gangs, police officers, industrialists and politicians in most parts of the country.

In many States Governments are being run with the aid of such criminal gangs or efforts being made to save Governments. I do not want to cite Bihar as it would incite many hon'ble Members. What is happening there? Whatever is happening there, is not the outcome of criminalisation of politics? This House needs to have a close look at all this and think over my Statement.

As regards the present Government, many constituents of the United Front continue to make criminalisation of politics and politicisation of criminals as their bases. Such constituents come out with threat to dislodge this Government. Mr. Prime Minister, today you are in power by virtue of wrong forces. That is why democracy faces grave challenge today. This is the reason that we BJP people are talking of electoral reforms.

We are worried. If there are allegations even in regard to constituting the legislatures what will be the future of the democracy? I do not want to cite any particular Assembly's name. Some people say that the number of such Members is 200. There are reports that many of the MLAs and MPs are history sheeters, even holding Ministerial posts and have nexus with the criminals.

The country wishes eradication of criminalisation from politics and it has got the right to take action in this regard.

With your permission I wish to read our para 15.2 at page 6 of the recommendations of the Vohra Committee.

> "I have prepared only three copies of this report. One or two copies are being endorsed each to hon. Minister of Home and Minister of State for Internal Security.
>
> Third copy I am keeping with myself. After a thorough study of it is makde by the hon. Home Minister, I would request that for further action thereon, discussions may be held between the Finance Minister, as the report also deals with economic offences, the Minister of State for Internal Security and myself, after which the PM's permission may be obtained regarding future approach to be adopted. At that stage, other concerned officials can also be taken into confidence."

Sir, in the light of the growing criminalisation of politics and in that regard the recommendations of the Vohra Committee appointed by the Home Ministry, I make a demand from the Government to appoint a National Commission and after comprehensive inquiries make such suggestions as may lead to the restoration of purity in public life and the democracy may truly become the right instrument of public well-being by emerging free from the present crisis. The National Commission must comprise persons who enjoy people's confidence. The Commission must be fully empowered for making high level enquiries.

Sir, this job will not be accomplished by merely setting up a nodal agency consisting of some civil officers. The effort of the nodal agency bear testimony to this. With your permission, I would like to quote extracts from the speech of Shri Indrajit Gupta made on 23 August, 1995 on the floor of the House. There should be a centralised coordinating agency. Otherwise, we will never be able to take action. Today he is Minister of Home Affairs. Did he care to set up such a Committee. Hon. Mr. Home Minister, there should be no difference between precept and practice. A National Commission must be appointed.

Shri Indrajit Gupta further stated "I would like to say that there are some parties which we not based on "party cadres" trained in a particular ideology or politics. There are many parties which do not function through such cadres. Those parties have started functioning with the help of such goonda elements from whose money repayments are made by the parties, as he has said it is ill-gotten money obtained through smuggling, narcotic trade, Hawala transactions, foreign sources and similar other means and such goonda elements are being hired on a large scale to perform such feats like rigging in elections, booth capturing etc. It is quite but natural when the person hiring the services of anti-social elements in this manner for such purposes get elected once, they find themselves entrapped clutches and very much susceptible to blackmail. It cannot be helped. Once a goonda element has helped you and you have been

elected, you will always be under his gratitude and bound to favour him. It is a vicious cricle.

Hon. Mr. Home Minister, there are many parties today which do not function through such cadres. Those parties have started functioning with the help of such goonda elements on whose support rests the present Front Government and this is the factor which prevents you, as Home Minister, from taking action against such parties and persons.

Shri Indrajit Gupta further said, "A Standing Committee of the House should be appointed to discuss the alliance between under world mafia and political parties."

Sir, Shri Paswanji said, "It was our resolution. The Govt. is unable to check criminalisation. We condemn it. The Govt. should take action.

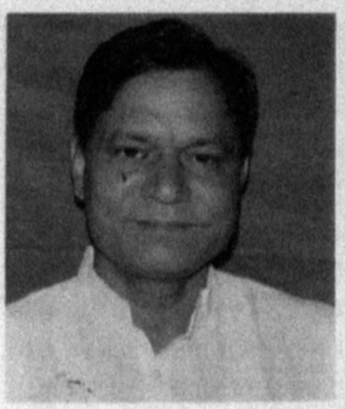
Shri Paswanji, we condemn your Govt. because it is unable to check criminalisation.

Sir, Shri Indrajit Guptaji had further said in his speech, "Although I agree that it is necessary to make the laws stringent, there is a need to remove the lacuna of the existing laws. The Govt. should make efforts to remove these lacuna with the help of 'law Ministry'. I want to know whether the Minister of Home Affairs and the Front Govt. have made efforts to make the laws stringent.

Sir, Shri Indrajit Guptaji had further said in his speech, "As I have said that assistance should be given to the parties so that they could start joint campaign against corruption and dominance of mafia. A campaign is being launched by B.J.P. and instead of helping them you are discouraging them."

Sir, Shri Indrajit Gupta further said that the Govt. also support the recommendation of the nodal agency which is quoted in the report. But that is useless. Many members of ruling party have also said that it would not be beneficial for anybody. So, instead a Parliamentary Committee or any commission should be appointed. We were thinking about appointing a commission under the Chairmanship of any Judge, judicial person or alongwith any similar system. But the people will not have confidence in the working of nodal agency working under an officer.

Honourable Minister of Home Affairs, whether you have appointed such a commission? There is a need to appoint a national commission. Only those members should be appointed in the national commission on whom the people have faith and also the commission should be empowered with all rights for conducting high level enquiry.



SHRI VISHVESHWAR BHAGAT

SHRI VISHVESHWAR BHAGAT (Balaghat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. By summoning the special session of the Parliament Hon. Speaker has given us a chance of self contemplation what have been our achievements in these fifty years of Independence and what we have yet to achieve.

Sir, although it is a fact that production of foodgrains has increased from 5 crore mt. tonnes in 1947 to 19 crore mt. tonnes in 1995, we are self-reliant today in this field due to the hard work of our farmers and research made by our scientists but even today only 30 per cent of agricultural land has the irrigation facility and 70 per cent of agricultural land remains without irrigation and we are forced to depend upon monsoon. Except the States like Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh the irrigation percentage of the remaining States is negligible. We will have to formulate Amson plan to provide irrigation facility in these States.

Sir, the economic condition of farmers has been deteriorating day by day due to insufficient rainfall. They are indebted. Increasing population of the country, existing unemployment and poverty can be removed only if we ensure systematic implementation of our schemes.

Sir, we have made progress in the field of agriculture, industry, education, communication, science and technology and many other fields but still we have much to do in these fields. Position of infrastructure is not satisfactory in the economy. Our power production has increased from 4.1 billion KW in 1947 to 380 billion KW in 1995 our established capacity is 85000 (1996) megawatts. There is gap of 18% to 25% in our demand and supply. In the year 1991, we had allowed the private sector to enter in energy sector to bridging up this gap. There are proposals to establish 924 power projects of 67281 mw capacity in which investment of 246472 crore rupees is involved. But due to red tapism work on many projects could not be started. We will have to fix a time-limit to put a check on this red tapism. Then only we can achieve the objectives timely.

Sir, in context of all round development of the country due attention should be paid towards development of infrastructure. Out of total transportation 53% to 87% is carried out by roads in this country. In the first five year plan 63 per cent of allocation under Transportation Head was spent on road but now only 3 per cent of total plan is spent on road which is just half of the previous amount whereas the population is increasing. Even after fifty years of independence all the villages have not been linked with concrete roads. There is significant contribution of villages in strengthening the economy. The cost of transportation has increased due to lack of road network and it has pushed back our economy at international level. As per the estimate, it is like to cause economic loss worth Rs. 30 crore annually. Private sector should be associated for expansion, development and maintenance of roads but due to uncontrolled redtapism, administrative delay and lacuna in Government policy investment in this sector has declined. A time bound policy should be formulated for it and stringent measures should be taken for making the officials accountable for delay in executing work.

Sir, airports and ports should be constructed and expanded for creating infrastructure. During the last decade our communication system has made remarkable progress but it should be further strengthened.

Sir, the main reason for not getting expected result is rapid increase in population. By the year 2000 India will have the maximum population. Since 1951 efforts are being made to check the population. Family welfare programme has been launched but we have not received the desired results. The main reason is illiteracy. In 1951 more than 50 per cent population was illiterate and percentage of women in it was almost 85 per cent since independence several primary, middle, higher secondary schools, colleges, technical colleges, medical colleges, veterinary and technological institutes were opened but these are facing several problems like shortage of staff, teachers etc. and because of which our standard of education has fallen. The issue regarding universalisation of primary education was also included in our Constitution under the article 45. Even today one-third of our population is illiterate. We cannot solve the problems of poverty, unemployment exploitation, and increasing population unless the people are educated, An awareness should be created among society to bring total literacy. Only Government efforts cannot achieve success in this regard. But we all, including social workers, intellectuals should launch a movement collectively to bring enlightenment.

Sir, one of our main problem is unemployment. The unemployment among unorganised labourers, agricultural based labourers, and educated persons is increasing day-by-day Agricultural labourers are in a better position in irrigated areas. In non-irrigated areas in the absence of sufficient rainfall, farmers themselves are in a bad states and thus agricultural labourers could not get regular employment or good wages. Educated unemployed youth having technical education are getting disappointed and resentment generating among them. Time-bound programmes and effective schemes should be formulated so that labour force of the country can be utilized properly to strengthen our economy.

Sir, in spite of all these shortcomings, our country is one of the successful democratic country. In spite of several old circumstances democracy is functioning successfully. But corruption, criminalisation of politics, communalism, Casteism discrimination on ground of languages and regionalism are such aspects that affect democracy, unity and integrity of our country. There is no reason for disbelief among people, if legislative, executive and judiciary work effectively and independently. Now-a-days spirit of patriotism is declining. We have examples of several countries which got independence with us but comparatively have made much more progress than our country. Japan was totally ruined in second world war but it is a powerful country today and has made multifarious progress due to patriotism. We should add chapters of freedom struggle and patriotism in curricula to inculcate patriotism in our coming generation.

Sir, Hon. Speaker has mentioned to wage the second war for freedom. All the representatives of people should make introspection and follow the ideals and sacrifice made by our great leaders so that people could trust them. It should be made compulsory for all the public representatives to submit details of their prosperities. Lokpal Bill should be introduced and passed at the earliest to ensure transparency. Ours is a secular country with many religions, castes and languages. We should impose a check on those political parties under the election code conduct which try to get political mileage on the basis of religions, caste and language to satisfy their self-interests. Stern action should be taken against them.

Sir, members and leaders of several political parties have made speeches in this House during the last four-five days. We should take a pledge and find out some solution to our problems.

I thank you for allowing me to express my views.

SHRIMATI RATNMALA D. SAVANOOR

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION (SHRIMATI RATNMALA D. SAVANOOR) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this special Session has been convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our Independence. I heard the views of hon. Members. Since I became a Minister, I cherished a desire to formulate some schemes for the upliftment of women in the country. I would like to give an account of the Ninth Five Year Plan launched in the country since 1951 till 1997 for the development of children, youth and women. Efforts should be made to fill up the gap between the cities and villages. I desire to do something for them till I hold this office. The schemes formulated in the Centre should be implemented by the respective State Governments also. Their contribution is very much necessary. Efforts should be made for the implementation of these schemes through Panchayats. It is necessary to open hospitals for women, creches and good schools for children in the country. Education upto higher secondary level should be imparted free in the country under compulsory education scheme so as to educate the poor and weak people. Employment opportunities should be provided to the neglected and harassed women. This work can also be done through Panchayats and Gram Sabhas.

I would also like to request my hon. friends to make contribution in the planned works being implemented in their respective areas and tell us about the loopholes in the schemes so that it could be removed. The whole country is watching the proceedings of the House. Through it, I would like to request my sisters and brothers in rural areas to tell us their problems through MLAs and MPs so that efforts could be made to solve them.

I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the efforts made by my Ministry. Although many schemes and plans are being implemented in other fields also but on this golden occasion, I would like to give an account of the developmental schemes relating to children, youth and women that have been formulated by the Ministry.

Since 1951, when the first Five Year Plan was formulated, development of women had been the target of our Government. During the fifth decade the idea behind development of women was their welfare only. Accordingly the Central Social Welfare Board which was established in 1953, has taken a number of measures for the welfare of women through voluntary organisations. During the sixth decade, Mahila Mandals were constituted to work for the development of women. Top priority was given to Mother and Child Health and Nutrition alongwith education to women. During the seventh decade, aim was to give training and to provide employment to women so as to improve their economic condition. In the eighth decade we made a revolutionary achievement when women were identified as a separate targeted category and in the Sixth Five Year Plan document importance was given to the socio-economic development of women. In this document multi-pronged approach was adopted in regard to women with a view to creating a feeling of self-confidence and awareness among them and the women were given top priority in implementation of programmes under various fields such as agriculture, handloom, industry etc. In the middle of Eighth Five Year Plan the Women and Child Development Department was established under the Minister of Human Resource Development, which was a new Ministry at that time. One of the important steps that was taken in this direction was the development of women by introducing benefit oriented programmes in various fields, which were directly beneficial to them. The other two salient features of this decade were (1) to formulate future plan (1988–2000) for the nation under which directives are issued even today for the all round development of women in the absence of any fixed policy. (2) Publication of National Commission Report on self-employed women in the non-core fields, which formulated the policies for self-employed women and women working in non-core fields. In these report despite making provision of National Creche Fund, National Loan Fund (Rashtriya Mahila Kosh) (RMK) were also created keeping in view the economic development of women.

During the period of four and a half decades, we have implemented many developmental policies during various five year plans which led to considerable improvement in socio-economic conditions of women particularly in respect of education, health, employment, awareness among them, cooperative activities participation in politics etc.

Although there has been significant improvement in the educational condition of women but the factors related to women like low rate literacy, lower representation of women in different fields, distribution of percentage of education on the basis of sex, the rate of drop-out children etc. indicates the necessity of a constant public intervention.

Literacy rate among women has increased from 8-9% in 1951 to 39.2% in 1991 which is four times increase. It is almost double as compared to men. The registration of girl students at primary level was 47.37 million on 1995-96 as compared to 5.38 millions in 1950-51. It shows a nine times increase. Accordingly, at middle school level and higher secondary level, the number of girls student has increased by 30 times and 46 times respectively whereas the increase among by students is 10 times and 13 times respectively.

Percentage of literacy on the basis of sex and the percentage of female literacy in 1971, 1981 and 1991 shows higher percentage.

An important measure through which we can know whether education is continued or not is to know the number of dropouts which concerns both boys and girls and which shows the deterioration in all the levels of primary, secondary and high school level. During the 1986–96 decade the rate of girl dropout at the primary level has come down to 34 per cent, middle level to 22 per cent and high school level came down to 15 and in case of boys this rate has declined to 33 per cent, 19 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.

Besides, informal education and total literacy propagation schemes for girls have benefited nearly 40 million women. Further three programmes have not only helped women in literacy, but these have also stood them in good stead and helped them to recognise their own potential. It will also help them in getting information with which they are being flooded and help them in enhancing their scope.

All these achievements, no doubt, are a big achievement in women's education. With all that achievement of women's education for the sake of equality, which is in consonance with National Policy on Education 1992, has become a distant motive, and the educational status of women has gone down unexpectedly as compared to that of men. According to 1991 census 279 million women did not get any formal education or had gone to school for less than 3 years. The percentage of girls between (6–9 age group) in 1991 indicates that only 38–52 per cent girls went to school. Though the registration of girls in schools has increased percentage of girl dropout has always been higher at all levels than boys. The problem has increased more because of gender bias, urban bias, regional bias. There is need to remove this bias.

In the field of Health and Family welfare, there are remarkable achievements in the improvement of health standards of women. There has been remarkable increase in the life expectancy of girl child which was 59.7 years in 1989–93 as compared to 23.9 years in 1951. After 1980–85, women life expectancy has increased as compared to than of men. In 1989–93 it was 59.7 years whereas for men it was 59 years. In the average marriage age of women there has been an increase of 4 years, which was 15.6 years in 1951 and in 1993 it was 19.6 years. Although it is low as compared to that of men, but as compared to rural areas it is high in urban areas.

There has been a decline in premature birth-rate which was 28.3 in 1995 as compared to 41.7 in 1951–61 and during the same period premature birth-rate went down from 22.8 to 9.0. In the year 1993, premature birth rate of female was 9.1 as compared to 9.5 among males.

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) which was 146 in 1951–61 has nearly gone down by one-half in 1995 and come to 74. In spite of decline in IMR, if present status upto the year 2000 our commitment of bringing it down from 60 per 1000 birth, is still on the higher side. There has been a decline by more than half (0-4 age group) in the infant mortality rate between 1970 and 1993, in the sense than there has been a decline by more than half, as in the case of women from 51.1 per cent in 1970 to 24.8 in 1993 as compared to men from 55.7 to 22.7. In fertility age group among women, the mortality rate age is more than men and consequently male Mortality rate is maintained at 423 per lakh which is really high. Between 1990 and 1994 total Mother Mortality rate because of pregnancy deaths uterine blood flux concerning still-birth is 20-22 per cent due to puparium and 20 per cent due to anaemia.

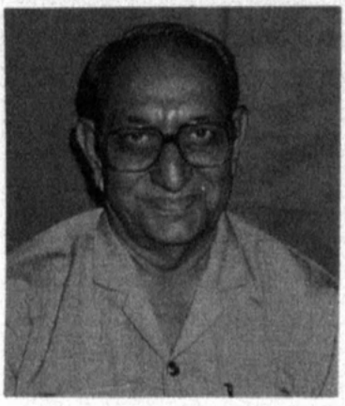
Fertility rate in 1950 was nearly 6 per cent and it went down to 3.5 in the year 1993. Mass Immunization Programme launched in the Seventh Five Year Plan covered all the three agencies *i.e.,* DPT, OPU and BCG upto 92 per cent, 88 per cent measles, and 82 in TT upto March 1997.

Sex ratio which shows the life expectancy of women is disproportionate for women but there has been continuous decline in it. It is a matter of concern for the last nine decades In the year 1993, in selected States like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, a nation-wide studies sponsored by Women and Child Development Department have concluded that the choice for male child and bad practices like foeticide and infanticide adopted are responsible for the decrease in the proportion of sex.

In India, abortion has been legalised as a safety measure since 1972 under Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) Act. Since then most of the rural people, in the absence of MTP services and ignorance of prevailing laws, get abortion done by the local quacks and untrained persons. Therefore, the mortality rate has risen from 10.8 per cent to 13.7 because of abortion. During 1993, 56.5 per cent and 11.8 per cent delivery cases have been handled by untrained extra-departmental persons in rural and urban areas respectively.

According to the figures of nutrition (1993) in India during 1988-90, 49.3 per cent women have been affected by various chronic energy deficiency. CED, went down from 51.8 per cent in 1975-79, showing a decline of mere 2.5 per cent. Whereas Reproductive Track Infection (RTI) and Sexually Transmitted Infections have already increased, the cases of HIV/AIDS among women are also showing an upward trend. Towards the end of 1996, among 3161 AIDS cases, 749 are of women.

Thus, the statistics of the status of women, health in India presents a grim picture. Where on the one hand we have achieved success in bringing down the birth rate, at the same time, death rate, infant mortality rate, fertility rate, increase in the rate of early marriage, increase in women's life expectancy, disproportionate sex ratio, high matricide rate, high mortality rate in lower age group, various sickness faced by women denote their bad health in comparison to men.



DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEY

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEY (Mandsaur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, assembling on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee year of Independence we pay homage to the martyrs and fighters of the freedom struggle who dedicated themselves, sacrificed their lives for this cause. Today we will think and discuss what our great country India achieved and lost during the last 50 years of independence, we will have a glance on our resources and development potentials. Certainity our country has vast forest area, adequate mineral reserves, abundant river water, hard working labourers, agriculturists combating cold, heat and showers and brave young people in the country even then country is lagging behind in the development. Why? Whether we are not having infrastructure? Whether we have not exploited our resources properly? Whether we have not made proper efforts? These are some basic questions which are haunting ourself. Why the National spirit of pre-independence has gone down? Where has our spirit of sacrifice to the country, gone? Today our strong armed forces are capable to face any challenges?

Why are we lagging behind in every sector? What is the shortfall from the point of view of human resources? Why have we not been successful in eradicating illiteracy? We are lagging behind particularly in the field of women education? It is necessary to increase the budget allocation for education. A concrete programme for this purpose is needed to be launched. We will have to explicitly define the education from the point of view of human development, we will have to make women empowered and will have to ensure their participation in the development.

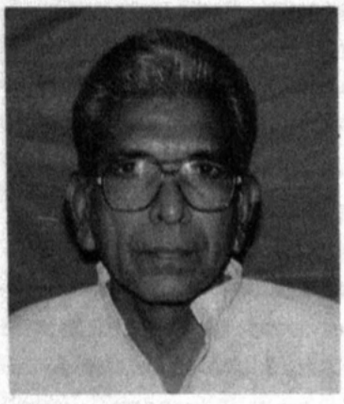
Today increasing population is a serious concern for us. We should contemplate and discuss the situation of disorder, chaos and many folded unemployment, including the condition of the poorest of the poor and evolve a national consensus in this regard. We should resolve to build a healthy and well developed social set-up having equality and fraternity. We are deeply concerned with medical and housing sector. A national policy is needed to be framed in this regard. Only then we will be able to remove poverty and economic imbalances. Where do we stand in the field of energy? Our industrial progress, agricultural development is being adversely affected by the shortage of power. Although we have framed a national policy but non-compliance of the policy has made the chance of betterment almost bleak. We have conventional and non-conventional energy sources. We have abundance water resources, coal reserves and wind energy potentials. We should exploit these resources. Our land is known as a land full of gens. There was time when certain countries were far behind India but now-a-days they are much ahead of us. Japan, China and Indonesia are example of it. There is wide scope in the field of agriculture. A definite approach is needed. It is such a sector that can generate more and more employment opportunities. Agriculture should be made a base of economic development and our economic policy should be based on agriculture. From this point of view we should seriously think over it. There is need to awaken the spirit to utilize the potentials of the country. Spirit of patriotism shall have to be awakened. Dignity of the country is needed to be re-established. We are great. We are prosperous. We are capable and we will have to make our country prosperous from this angle. Today, we are facing some more questions, the question of having clean politics and the criminalisation of the politics, social set up of the country.

There is despair and hopelessness in the psyche of the people of the country. Today we are desisting from traditions because we have forgotten our culture. We should not forget our culture. Our character building and our entity is identified by our culture. Today the character is being discussed frequently. We will have to seriously think over our character-building. There is a need of clarion call for cultural nationalism.

Lack of cultural integrity has given rise to the regionalism. Although imbalanced development is also a reason behind it, lack of the spirit of cultural integrity is also a contributing factor to the regionalism. That is why different outlooks is held towards the problems of the country. Consensus is essential in this regard.

Lack of character and culture is the basic reason of corruption. To gain personal ends and to make efforts for having ultimate benefits have given birth to the criminalisation in politics and in other fields. We have to fight it. We have to wipe it out.

We have performed very well in many fields. We have done a lot of works in technology sector. We are confident and proud of our scientists and those great men who contemplate with dedication for leading the country towards progress. If we firmly resolved to build a strong, prosperous and dignified India, we will certainly fulfill it.



SHRI SYDAIAH KOTA

[English]

SHRI SYDAIAH KOTA (Narsaraopet) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Thank you Sir, for having given me the opportunity to speak in the special session convened by you on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of India's Independence. I thank Hon. Speaker for conciving this idea of a special session to review our achievements and failures during the last fifty years. This session has given us an opportunity to introspect and plan for the future.

Sir, in this context I would like to draw the attention of the August House that agriculture sector which is the major industry and which contributes substantial part to our national income and which is a major provider of employment in the country is neglected. 70% of the country's population depends on it. The development of industry is closely related to the agriculture as it provides raw material to the industry. The farming community which is responsible to achieve the self sufficiency of food grains is accorded a raw deal. He has no liberty to fix the rate of the commodities he produces. An industrialist fixes the rate of the goods he manufactures after taking into consideration of the cost of production, taxes and his profit. A trader also fixes the price of the commodity he sells. A lawyer or a doctor charges remunerative fee for the services rendered. Even a barber fixes his own rate for shaving and cutting. But in the agriculture sector it is the buyer who fixes the price. This is the reason for exploitation of the farmer and this distortion needs to be corrected. It is the right time to do so when we have launched a programme of reforms and liberalisation.

Farmer is not given remunerative prices to the commodities he produce. The support price which the Agriculture prices Commission fixes is not at all realistic. How they fix the support price is known only to the Commission. Farmers are unable to understand the rationale behind it. The rates of industrial goods are going up by leaps and bounds. The price of a toilet soap has gone up from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 10/- in the past few years, whereas the cotton which was sold at Rs. 2,500/- per quintal before last year has gone down to Rs. 2,000/- last year and it has further gone down to Rs. 1,700/- per quintal this year. The chillies which was around Rs. 5,000/- per quintal last year is selling at Rs. 2,000/- this year. In the same way redgram and blackgram were Rs. 2,000/- and Rs. 1,800/- respectively per quintal last year are selling at Rs. 1,200/- and Rs. 1,000/- per quintal this year. On the contrary, the cost of inputs like seeds, fertiliser, pesticides and labour are going up year after year.

There used to be high respect to the farming community in good olden days. Now it has come to such a pass that a farmer's son having 10 acres of land is not getting a bride whereas a person who is on an attender post is preferred, because people feel that there is no guarantee that a farmer can maintain his wife and children in the present circumstances.

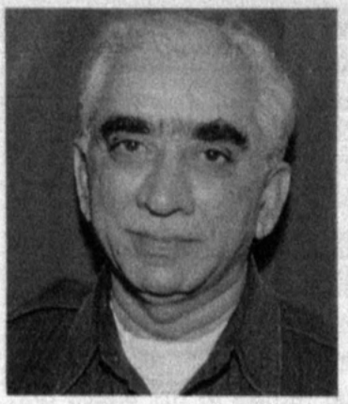
Gandhiji once told that India lives in its villages. But the successive Governments after Independence do not realise this truth. Consequently villages which depend upon agriculture are totally neglected. There are no basic eminities like drinking water, health care, education facilities, power in the villages. There is no road facility to transport the agriculture produce to the market. This is the reason why agriculture is loosing its charm and attraction. Farmers who for generations engaged in agriculture are discarding it and migrating to the cities. This results in over-crowding in the cities causing various problems of food, water, shelter and environment. We witness lacks of people living on the pavements in the cities which are over weighed with the above problems.

We must not lose sight of the fact that inspite of the green revolution ourfood grain production has increased only at the rate of 1.7% while population growth has been 1.9% during 1990–97. The pace of growth of agriculture was 2.2% during 1970s. It increased to 3.4% during 1980s. But it has again started declining which is a matter of concern to all of us. There are indications of stagnant yields from the green revolution belt. We therefore require another grain revolution but of a different kind which is environmentally friendly. We should start a massive effort for restoration of fertility of soil through encouraging the use of organic manures. There is constant depletion of ground water due to over exploitation. Hence the agriculture bore-wells have to be recharged through watershed development programmes. Our elaborate research infrastructure of agriculture institutes and laboratories should be activated to achieve agricultural productivity level comparable to that of China.

Discrimination against agriculturists such as restrictions on movement of farm products and regulations on various activities of farmers have made agriculture unattractive for investment. The Finance Minister had promised to remove inter-state restriction on the movement of foodgrains. This should be immediately implemented to enable the farmer to get a fair price for his products. Farm products should also be allowed to be exported freely. For some time, there is a talk of taxing the agricultural income. But we must not lose sight of the fact that high tariff protection to domestic industry has acted as an implicit tax on agriculture. Our economic planning had given importance to the public-sector-dominated industrial development at the cost of agriculture. This must now end.

To increase production, conversion of agriculture land into non-agricultural use should be stopped. Water-logged areas should be reclaimed and waste-lands should be brought under cultivation. Storage losses should also be minimise. Traditional food crops which are location-specific should again be encouraged. We must not ignore the important factor of our agriculture being still dependent on monsoon. Only 30% of our cultivated area is irrigated, the rest being at the mercy of rains. Hence, we must increase our irrigation facilities. Government investment in big irrigation projects that was stopped in late sixties must be resumed.

Agriculture has still potentiality to absorb a good number of unemployed and under-employed, provided it is given the requisite support. I request this August House to bestow their attention on this vital issue.



SHRI JASWANT SINGH

[Translation]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, whatever, I have to say by 12.15 O'clock, I shall try to complete it before that time. It will be an arrogance in itself that I would like to draw your attention to a point which is left out during 65 hours of debate of the Members of Parliament. But today is the last day of the debate, our party president issued some directions and favourable situation has also emerged. I, therefore, would like to submit my views in brief before the House.

As a result of the discussion held during the last 5-6 days, certainly most of the differences have been resolved and in fact, it was a commendable step. It is in itself a good coincidence. As it has been said just now that this debate has taken place on such occasion.

[English]

When a half century of the country is experimenting with participatory governance and freedom from colonial rule draws to a close, it is also an occasion when the century turns, and it is also an occasion when the millennia itself is acquiring not just simply new numerical which are arithmetic in nature alone but are of great significance and that adds to the uniqueness of the experiment that we have undertaken for the last six days to deliberate amongst ourselves the state of the nation.

[Translation]

What we have done and what we have not done, what we have achieved and what we have not achieved.

[English]

If there is any regret that I have, it is a regret which is largely on the nature and the structure of the debate as it was envisaged, and as contained in the motion moved by the Leader of my party, the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. That limitation inhibited and

restricted us from discussing two or three aspects which, I think, if we have also included would have added immeasurably to the deliberations of Parliament.

12.00 hrs.

The first is about national security. I well recognise that this was a deliberate decision and we opted out of discussing national security or defence for the purpose of devoting more time to the other concerns with which all of us are currently seized. But I would be remiss in my duties and obligations if I did not speak here and shared my concerns with the concerns of all the soldiers, sailors and airmen whose great devotion and dedication to national interest of the past fifty years has enabled our country to hold its head high. And it is the interest of these soldiers, sailors and airmen which we must never give relegated importance to. With that is directly related the question of national preparedness. I do wish that we had utilised this occasion to discuss three other aspects. One is the nature of governance as such—the state of our civil service—because the essential nature of our civil service and the essential nature of governance, be it at the Centre or be it at the States of the Union, remain what the British left, whether it is the district administration or the administration here in the secretariat of India. It is the structure which the British had left. We have not altered it. And because we have not altered it, there today exists a gap between the democratic aspirations of our people and the ability of governments to execute and translate into action the aspirations of our people, be it at the level of the Union of India or at the level of the States of the Union of India.

I would have really greatly benefited if we had seized this opportunity to spend a little time on the state of the country's Judiciary as well. I do know that many distinguished jurists like my very good friends and senior colleagues, Shri Somnath Chatterjee or Janab Antulay Sahib did touch upon this subject. But it is my belief that the s[illegible] of the country's Judiciary which has a direct relationship with the implementation of the laws of the land, is something that we could have, with benefit, devoted our time to as well.

Some time and thoughts were exchanged about the state of country's infrastructure. Deficiencies were pointed out, as also the achievements at the level of the country's infrastructure. I deport slightly from that because under infrastructure, we have, as our concern, the physical infrastructure and the social infrastructure. And if there are deficiencies in these two, then I submit for the consideration of this House that there is yet another aspect of nation's infrastructure and I call it the moral infrastructure of the country. It is this moral infrastructure of the country which, I believe, in the past fifty years has got enfeebled rather than strengthened. And it is this moral infrastructure that has persuaded so many of my distinguished colleagues to speak of criminalisation of corruption.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Criminalisation of corruption or criminalisation of politics?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am talking of criminalisation of polity and I am talking of corruption because these have become today's slang words which are used by us to cover all kinds of deficiencies which arrive. To my mind, the moral infrastructure of the country, the moral infrastructure of us all, has definitely got enfeebled in the last fifty years.

Sir, Shri Chandra Shekhar is unfortunately not here. He cited me by name.

[Translation]

To some extent I do agree with him. He said why Shri Jaswant Singh repeats the same incident again and again which dates back to 1985-86.

[English]

I referred to that not because I interpret my role, functions, responsibilities and duties in this House as that of a police inspector, but I do believe that all these cumulatively go towards strengthening that moral infrastructure of us without that I submit, that this great experiment with democracy, this great experiment with participatory governance on which our great country had set its path 50 years back, that experiment itself is enfeebled if the superstructure, if the supporting systems of the moral infrastructure of the land have simultaneously not built.

[Translation]

The issue of corruption is before us. The Prime Minister had urged the countrymen from the rampart of Red Fort to observe Satyagrah. It is good and time in also opportune. This is the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our independence and I am happy that this message has also been conveyed from the rampart of the Red Fort. But I have some reservation on this score. A call has been given to observe Satyagrah only against financial corruption. Corruption involves not only monetary bungling, rather it also includes our corrupt conduct. Why I talk of moral infrastructure which has enfeebled in the last fifty years. The root of corrupt conduct lies in the corrupt political conduct. So unless we debate today the corrupt political conduct, it would be meaningless to discuss the issue of corruption which generally some way or the other implies monetary bunglings. This corruption is merely a result of

our corrupt political conduct and enfeebled basic moral values.

Sir, our Prime Minister gave a call to observe 'satyagrah' but against whom? Against the Government, against the Prime Minister or against our political misconduct? So far I have failed to solve this riddle. Another is that of criminalisation of politics which has been discussed at length. I hope that today the House, before adjournment of the sitting, will certainly reach some or other kind of unanimity on this score which would be the most appropriate conclusion of this marathon debate.

Sir, I search a lot and think a lot as to in which direction should be moved? The period of 50 years is not merely an arithmetical calculation on the tips of figures. We have completed 50 years of our independence and 51st year has begun but today the question before us is where to go now? I want to mention two important things in particular which are presently our necessities. Today we have to revive the feelings of nationalism very strongly in ourselves which is in fact a great target before us and which has also become our duty. In Western countries, the strong nationalism is termed as Chauvenism and generally denied. I do not agree with there concept of Chauvenism. In a country like India, Chauvenism is a chain which brings people of a nation together and unite them with one-another. So, let us propound a new concept of Chauvenism and establish our identity again in the world. Without this, nothing is going to happen. If I find some other shortcoming then that is—

[English]

It is an element of the absence of heroics in our national life.

[Translation]

It seems as if in today's preoccupied life we have nothing to do except for showing our trivialities, showing each other down.

[English]

I do submit, Sir, that what this nation, what all of us here, as the distillate of the nation, have to recognise is the vital essense of the irreplaceable element, the sense of the heroic in our national life.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will conclude my speech within the remaining 3 or 4 minutes. One of the several views expressed in this House by one of our very learned and veteran leader Shri Narsimha Raoji was based on the theory of 'clash of civilization' propounded by Prof. Samual Hantingdon which we also have been discussing for the last several days. I have been discussing this subject with the colleague of Prof. Samual Hantingdon right from the very beginning when the book containing this article was published. What I want to submit is the need to know about India. When not India had to face clash of civilization in the past?

[English]

The entire age of imperialism from the landing of Vasco de Gama to the leaving of the British from the Gateway of India in 1947 has been a consequence of clash of civilisations. This age of imperialism saw the destruction of the entire continents and the people of those continents, like North America, South America and Africa. If any one of these countries or civilisations was able to stand its ground not without damage, not without paying the price, not without consequences, it was India; it was Indian civilisation. We were able to stand up against the assault of civilisations against us only because we were Indians.

[Translation]

Hon'ble Chaturananji is not present here. He is 'Chaturanan' I can not challenge his knowledge and learning. He was having reservation on a certain word. If it is so, kindly look for a synonym of India. We cannot encounter the clash of civilization without our old cultural heritage and civilization. It is still existing and it will exist in future also. The day we forget our culture, civilization, our traditions and our ideology, we will be left nowhere. Clash of civilisation is a great challenge today before us which is not from within India but from outside also but we have to regain our place in the world and for this we are required to fight back the assault of civilization against us. I hope this debate will lead us again in that direction.

I said that I would conclude by quarter past twelve, therefore, I would place my views before the House on only three points.

[English]

Let us endeavour to restore a sense of ethics; a sense of ethics not simply in the conduct of what we loosely call politics because politics as the distillate of the society of political conduct by itself is nothing else but a distillate of social norms.

If the society is bereft of a sense of ethics, then I do believe that it is the bounden duty of those assembled here

claiming to provide leadership of the nation to restore to the nation a sense of ethics in our cultural, social, political, or total conduct.

The second word that I leave with you is not a word alone, but what is in that word is strength. The second word that I leave with you is to restore a sense of constitutionalism. I am not asking for an empty or a simple or a legalistic adherence to the letter of the constitution. I am urging this assembly–and I start with myself–that we have to revive in ourselves, a sense of constitutionalism.

[Translation]

Constitutionalism is not merely a legalistic adherence to the letters of constitution. We have to understand the meaning of constitutionalism in the right perspective. It is because of that constitutionalism that we have with us our constitution and the day we give up this sense, the constitution will remain merely a document. I do not have much time.

[English]

Somehow, all of us, collectively, through ethics, through constitutionalism, should, at least, draw the contours of the moral universe within which we wish to conduct our national activity. So far as economic liberalisation is concerned. I would like to say that economic liberalisation outside of the moral universe is not liberalisation. It is empty, it is hollow. There was a very fine report–if I am not mistaken, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao was the then Minister of Human Resource Development and the credit really goes to him–prepared on the art academics, and the Chairman of the Committee who prepared that report is a very great India, Dr. Haksar. At the beginning of that report itself is a chapter of what constitutes culture. So, education, I submit, outside of a simultaneous and clear understanding of culture is not education.

[Translation]

After all there is difference between literacy and education. Education sans culture has no meaning. Culture must be a part of our education so that no hollowness should be visible in us anymore in future.

I will beg your pardon for having taken 3 or 4 minutes in excess. As I have already said, what we are required to do today is nothing new. The people who wrote several dictums, must have written them with great ideas. Be these dictums in Sanskrit, Khadi Boli, Brij or in any other language–we have to learn them by heart and make them a part of our habit. I find those sayings written in galleries, in the Chambers of Members and elsewhere also. What we need is to learn them by heart and practise them in our day today life. For example, right at the top of 'Ayes' in this House, it is written.

"Jahan Sumati Tahan Sampatti nana
Jahan Kumati Tahan Vipati Nidana."

Nothing more than this is required to be said. I do not want to quote but Tulasidasji has written in 'Lanka Kand' of Ramcharitmanas that

"Par Updesh Kushal Bahutere,
Je Aacharahin Te Nar Na Ghanere."

So, please do not preach. Do what you say and that is enough.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : If any more Members want to place their written speeches on the Table of the House, they can do so now.

SHRIMATI KANTI SINGH

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COAL (SHRIMATI KANTI SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Special Session of this august House convened on the occasion of the 50th year of country's Independence has itself taken a historic shape. The speech delivered not only by most of the hon. Members but also by the hon. Speaker who by his address has made the Golden Jubilee Celebrations more interesting and attractive. Governments come and go, but the fact remains that how to evaluate the valuable speeches made by the hon. Members and implement the suggestions made there in which will definitely put its impact on the coming generation. All the factors, whether the economy the social equality, communal harmony or the announcement made by the hon. Prime Minister to root out corruption will undoubtedly put its impact on our next generation.

In the past 50 years we have not been able to meet the basic needs of food, clothe and housing. Poverty and

unemployment has spread all the country over like a communicable disease. Almost all the political parties do politics of vote by resorting to politics of caste and religion and taking help from unsocial element. But no time bound programme has ever been made to raise the living standard of 35 per cent people living below the poverty line and 45 per cent uneducated people. We only console the people by giving the slogan 'Mera Bharat Mahan'.

The people despite being poor and uneducated assemble in lakhs in our meetings and give 'zindabad' slogan with the hope that we have same panacea for improving their future. We win elections and enter the apex representative body of the country by announcing maximum populist manifestos and making impossible commitments under the democratic system. A very balanced budget is presented in the House and implemented by the concerned Government for the all round development of the country. About 10 to 20 lakh people entertain their hope in an M.P. but does he do anything? Everybody knows it. There is some lacunae in the present system under which we want this country to develop. There are four pillars, the judiciary, the executive, the legislative and the media. But the responsibility of shortcomings found in all these organs is fixed on the legislature because of the democratic form of Government in our country. In the circumstances it becomes the bounden duty of this august House to rise above party lines and honestly work in the country's interest. Every party has got its organisational set up, but the parties adopt various dubious measures to ensure their victory in the elections without according priority to the development and progress of the country.

Immediately after Independence feudalistic forces dominated the scene at every step, as a result of which rich became richer and poor poorer. Continuous price rise decreased the living standard of small farmers, agricultural labourers and factory workers. Price of essential commodities went up. Justice become costlier and went beyond the reach of common man. Implicating poor people in litigations and making their life miserable became the order of the day. The common man has lost faith in the present costlier judicial system. After meeting cross-sections people, I find that people hopefully look to MPs and MLAs for a solution to their problems. In this way our responsibility has increased manifold. I expect that all hon. Members of the House would forget small past mistakes, rise above party lines and build a India unitedly where there will be no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion, poverty and richness.

We say in ornamental words that my country is great and we are proud that we are Indians. Our earlier generation struggled hard against the Britishers, sacrificed their lives and gave us freedom after about 100 years of fight and even after 50 years of Independence, we have not been able to free people from the economic, casteist and communal slavery. India which was once upon a time called a golden bird is still rich in mineral wealth. The thing we need is self reliance. We are obsessed with inferiority complex because we consider it an insult to carry out petty jobs. The desire to live a life of plenty by amassing wealth without putting in hard work, is nothing but an affront to the country's prestige.

What we have done and what we have not done or what better we could have done during the last fifty years, has been discussed at length here by more than hundred hon. Members who, by giving their invaluable suggestions in the process, have laid firm foundations for the future programmes. Keeping in view the prevailing conditions, I too am keen to lace the important issues of the country with the hope and belief and in order that our country India may be more happy and prosperous than other countries.

We formulated many schemes in order to solve our basic problems relating to food, clothing, housing, drinking water, medicine and elementary education and get rid of them, but it is our misfortunate that these problems still defy solution although we have all the resources required to solve them and overcome them without taking foreign aid but we are not able to make proper use of all the resources we have inherited. The genius being displayed abroad by the scientists, doctors, engineers, intelligentia, skilled and unskilled labourers from our country is now known to all people in the world. Without any hitch I would say that this very class of people in crores is jobless in its own country. Do we not have the requisite resources to tackle these problems? Honestly I would say that with whatever resources are available to us we can surmount all these problems. The only hindrance is the all pervasive feudalistic tendencies in our society that have come down to us from the British empire and that have made us oblivious of not only our fundamental rights and duties to the nation but also all our obligations. This is the basic impediment to our inclination towards work. Either we are wrongly defining the basic principle of work or have not been able to make the general people understand its importance. An old adage aptly applies to this situation—

"Uttam kheti madhyam ban,
Neech chakri, bhikh nidan."

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, gave us a practical knowledge of the importance of the basic principle of work and service by publicly doing such menial works himself like carrying night soil on his head just like a sweeper, thereby demonstrating and proving to the society that the work considered to be the basest in the society, is indeed the most beneficial thing to do to the whole society. I would like to mention here what Gandhiji writes in his memories

as to how he had perforce to be a bit late in a Viceregal meeting because of his British driver who, while on the way, considered it more important to stop the water gushing out of a public water tap and going waste, than too reach in time in the meeting called by the Viceroy. Another important aspect is that each of the four parts the system is divided into, is encroaching upon the jurisdiction of and indulging in mudslinging upon other, overlooking the larger interests of the nation in asserting its own importance. With that going on, the country is not making as much progress as it should. The root cause of the criminal tendencies prevalent particularly among the youth of our country is the growing unemployment. So far the principle of divide and rule has been fructifying more and more. The new generation has started discarding it. Before the people get unrestrained, we should go by the principle of taking action only after due consideration and act upon a time-bound scheme of providing work opportunities to every man in order to eradicate the problem of unemployment. Of course, providing food, clothing, shelter, medicine, education etc. to every man is our top priority, the programme can easily be translated into practice if only all the four pillars of democracy namely the executive, legislature, judiciary and the media start working in close liaison without discrimination in right earnest as true patriots.

The historic verdict given by the hon. Supreme Court to prevent the ongoing exploitation of working women needs to be commended everywhere, but while it is easier for the women working in governmental and non-governmental institutions to take recourse to it and they would file cases in any court for the inhuman treatment, if any, being meted out to them, the complaints regarding sexual exploitation of poor and helpless women working in agricultural fields, granaries, brick kilns, sands ...and other mines will go largely unheard. Merely solving the problems of women working in offices will not automatically solve the problems of all the women of the country. Therefore we must make a law which may prove beneficial to women of all categories in the entire country. Besides this we must also prevent its likely misuse. The issue of empowerment of women has also become important these days. Reservation for them should be provided not only in legislature, but in the executive and judiciary also. I am in favour of providing the benefit of reservation particularly to the poor and uneducated womenfolk living in villages and small towns. The communal forces have always treated the constitutional rights in this country with scorn and the communal riots resulting therefrom have claimed lives of lakhs of people, they have also adversely affected the country's economy. But it is a matter of pride that some powerful personages in the country have succeeded in wearing down the morale of the riots, leading now to the creation of an atmosphere in the country in which no one would dare causing riots because the people in general, by misguiding whom such heinous crimes as claiming innocent lives we caused to be committed, have now come to understand the conspiratorial slogans. Therefore, those personages not only deserve our thanks but adoration also, whose bold steps have unmasked many stalwarts. The atmosphere is now becoming so congenial that the words of respected Shri Chandrashekharji now tend to sound so nice, thereby making any talks of communalism is quite irrelevant and the note of communal harmony has been taken by us to such a crescendo that the principle of secularism is now in evidence in our country in the same spirit as is enshrined in our constitution, very much like the Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswati merging into and forming a single stream at Prayagraj.

Everybody has started raising fingers towards Judiciary. The judicial process in particular has become too expensive for the poor sections of the people to afford it. The process of selection of the judges has come to be viewed with genuine suspicions because the process of nomination to offices involving onerous responsibilities has the attributes of a monarchical system in a democratic set up. Therefore, for public appointments a set of rules should be framed by setting up a committee on the subject under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

If we want to make the country really progress by learning from our past mistakes, then we must seek solution of the problems relating to food, clothing, shelter, drinking water and elementary education etc. through a time-bound method.

In order to prevent recurrence of caste, class and communal struggles, all-party good-will committee should be set up from block levels onwards upto national level.

The unemployment problem should be got rid of through optimum utilisation of our agriculture and mineral resources and lands. The womenfolk must be liberated from all kinds of oppression.

Radical changes must be brought about in the present structure of the judiciary by inculcating the concept of social equality in it, bringing it within the common man's reach and making its processes time-bound.

We are confident that this house will do all that is necessary for even the last man to enjoy the right to lead a normal life. Only then we can have the feeling of having achieved full freedom after 50 years.

DR. C. SILVERA

[English]

DR. C. SILVERA (Mizoram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have heard the learned speeches of a number of Hon'ble Members belonging to different political parties. The impression I got is that the country has not been able to make such progress in the core sectors as it should have. That is there was certain amounts of underlying note of dejection and disappointment in most of the speeches. In this context I am reminded of a very significant observation made by Mahatma Gandhi. He said, I quote, "Recall the faces of the poorest and weakest man you have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him, will he gain anything by it. In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?". Unquote. I am afraid, the hungry has not got the Swaraj even after 50 years of independence. It is not only an irony but a sad commentary on our performance over the past half a century, particularly in the basic fields of poverty eleviation, literacy and social justice. It is true that for a vast country with a large population and socio-politic complexities it is a very difficult task to achieve these goals. The task still remains difficult possibly because our priorities might not have been right and commitment was not 100 per cent. Most of these ills that still affect the nation are due to poverty, literacy and lack of involvement of the common man. Poverty and unemployment have been plaguing the country leading to socio-economic as also political maladjustments. Disorder, disquiet and dissatisfaction are the direct result of such a situation. The nation took a pledge to achieve near full employment by 2002. Shall we be anywhere near the goal. Have we ensured enhanced public investment in developing agriculture and improving rural infrastructure, expansion of non-farm sector, particularly SSI sector? Adequate resource flow, backed by serious efforts has to be ensured to raise the employment growth rate to about 5 per cent per annum. This will all for higher rate of growth of the economy as a whole. This does not seem to have happened. The Government has accepted in it approach paper to the 9th Five Year Plan, that the growth pattern has not benefited the poor and the underprivileged and that the 9th Plan has to be designed so as to ensure that the benefits of growth reach the poor. We have also not been able to make major dent into the problem of poverty line during 1987-88, as per the expert group on estimation of proportion and number of poor, was 3127.48 lakhs which is only a marginal improvement over the 1983 figures which stood at 3270 lakhs. The dimension of the problem is evident from these figures. Therefore, sustained efforts will have to be made to find a lasting solution of poverty. Although improvements have taken place in social developments, we still lag behind most other developing countries. The levels of indicators of human development are still very low. The backward regions like the North East are yet to get due share of nation's economic prosperity which has resulted in a feeling of neglect. Larger national interest demands that greater attention is paid to such region.

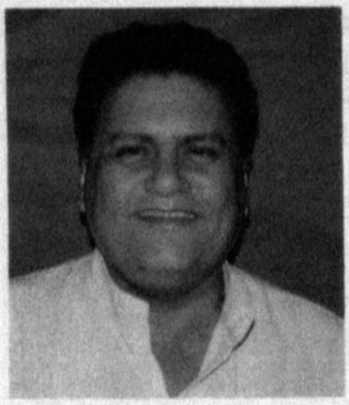
There has been lot of discussions both in Parliament, public and press about corruption. While I agree with Chandrasekharji that corruption should not be blown out of proportion, I think that it deserves a discussion and a resolve to fight it out. It is not a question of the percentage of corrupt people or honest people that is important. The fact that corruption affects all our efforts to remove poverty, increase employment to ensure social justice, would justify a crusade against it. Communalism and religious fundamentalism have no place in a pluralistic secular democratic society of ours. In the interest of social order and peace and national unity these forces must be curbed.

For most of the economic, social and political ills that we are facing, the remedy lies in increasing the percentage of literacy and in ensuring fuller involvement of the people. At the moment both are lacking. Concrete schemes will have to be implemented to remove this deficiency urgently.

As regards the population problems, I need not say much because previous speakers had already dealt with the subject thoroughly. But what I would like to stress is that the population policy is to be implemented by the State governments unless the State govts. take up the subject seriously, whatever and however good the policy we may evolve, it will not succeed.

I therefore, feel that the State governments should be given more instructions and the defaulting States should be dealt with firmly. Also some of the administrative set ups are far too big and I feel that those bigger States should be made into smaller ones for better administration.

As regards NE States, in spite of 50 years of Independence, the States are still very backward, and most of them are insurgency infested. The Central Government should come in a big way to solve the problem. Since all these States are financially difficult the Government should pardon all their loans/debts to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of Indian Independence.



SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel proud to be a participant in this Golden Jubilee debate because I come from a family of freedom fighters. My father was imprisoned for 13 years during the freedom movement. I take this opportunity to convey my salutations to all those people who have sacrificed their lives to get freedom to our country and also to all those millions of people who fought for the freedom of our country. I feel that it is my duty to go on record that this 50th Anniversary of Independence which we are celebrating today is because of their sacrifices. It is now seen that it was rather easier to achieve Independence than to preserve it in a manner which free Indian people would like to see. That is why, probably, our hon. Speaker gave a call for launching a second freedom struggle. It does not undermine what we have done in the last 50 years and we are rather reminded by his call that we have to do our duty for the future.

While we are celebrating this Golden Jubilee occasion, I am not one of those who says that we have not achieved anything. We have achieved self-sufficiency in food production, we have achieved technological development and we have achieved success in various fields of industry. Not only that, India has a pride of place in the comity of nations. Besides, when there was army rule in our neighbouring countries, I do not want to name them, we feel proud that during the last 50 years, despite political parties having come and gone, democracy survived here. There was no dictatorship and there was no army rule. We also feel proud that after 50 years, even though no party has got an absolute majority–14 parties came together; I belong to Indian National Congress Party–we have supported the Front from outside, without taking any responsibility in running the Government. Though it is not in the interest of our Party, we have done that. We want stability and not instability in the country. We feel proud for that also.

While we are self-sufficient in food production and in various other respects, we have also various weaknesses and we have to look into them today. Illiteracy is one of them; second is unemployment and third is lack of systematic economic development throughout the country. There is imbalance from region to region, from State to State and from community to community. Unfortunately, this situation has given rise to agitations in various parts of the country. We have seen ethnic trouble, caste trouble and communal trouble. Probably, all these are happening because of the fact that we have not been able to achieve what we desired to achieve.

Sir, I come from the North-Eastern region. This region is now facing a very serious problem. The people in this North-Eastern region say that the situation is worse than in Punjab and Kashmir. Why is it so? If you go back to the history of the North-Eastern region, the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955-56, which organised the States on linguistic basis, was not in a position to do anything about the North-East. Indiraji did it and she created Nagaland in 1963. After that, the North-Eastern Reorganisation Act was passed in 1970-71 through which Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura were created as new States and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram remained as Union Territories. But unfortunately, the creation of these States and Union Territories have not given the desired effect that we wanted.

Our goal was not achieved. When our Government came in 1981, we gave Statehood to Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. Even now, today we see one State is fighting with the other on the borders. We see in certain States, there is ethnic trouble. The Kukis and Nagas are fighting in Manipur. We see insurgent groups running parallel Governments in our North-Eastern States. This is not my statement. The Chief Minister of Assam has said in a press conference "BDOs in the rural areas are to pay money to the ULFA as booty money." It means the money of the Government of India meant for the development of the poorest of the poor in the rural areas is going to ULFA and others. It is a threat to the nation today that in all the North-Eastern States except Arunachal Pradesh, insurgency has taken an ugly shape. People are being killed every day. It is happening in Assam, Nagaland and also in Manipur. Fortunately, Mizoram is an exemption. Arunachal Pradesh which was an exception in the past is again infested with terrorists of that area. Why am I raising this matter? I am raising this matter for the reason that this august House has to take care of the situation. There is not only insurgent movement in North-Eastern region, but it has also become the golden gate for narcotic business. Drugs are being sold in the markets, and arms are being supplied by Myanmar, China, and other countries to the terrorists of other part of our country. If we are to face the problem in North-Eastern region, it is high time that this House should take cognisance

of the situation there and take remedial steps. What are the remedial steps? Some pacts were signed with TNV, the AASU, and also in Mizoram and Nagaland. Mizoram pact was implemented by Government of India, and by Mizoram Government thereby there is peace. But for some reason or the other, AGP now complains that Assam Accord has not been implemented properly. What signal does it give? When we call the other terrorists to come to the negotiating table and discuss within the Constitution of India, they say "What have you done? You have signed accord with Laldenga. You have signed with others. You are not implementing the pact. Why should we come to the negotiating table? We will ask for independent Assam or for independent Nagaland or for independent Manipur." Not only that. Among the Nagas, there is a demand of Greater Nagaland. There is demand for greater Nagaland which is taking areas from Manipur, Assam and Tripura. All the Members of Parliament from North-Eastern region have sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister saying that we do not want further reorganisation of the North-Eastern region States. Why? This will open pandora's box. Bodoland was created by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. The idea was to give autonomy to Bodoland. Now they are fighting for the border. They want more areas for themselves even where the population of Bodos is only 3 per cent. Tea gardens are there where the people from Orissa and other States are working. They want those gardens. It is a very unreasonable demand. It cannot be acceded to. But this is the demand of those people.

Hence I would request the Government of India to look into this matter. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister is not here. My good friend Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, the Leader of the House, is here. You must look at the North-Eastern problem in its right perspective so that you can solve it. Deployment of army for a temporary period is all right. But continuous deployment of army is very bad. Army is getting involved in certain controversies with the civilians. It is not desirable. Army is meant to protect our country from aggression by foreigners but not to take the law into their own hands. Police Administration in all the North-Eastern States is a total cipher. Their arms and ammunition are not in a position to counter the sophisticated arms which are available to the insurgents.

The CRPF, the BSF and other para-military forces who are there, they are living under fear. For the last twenty days, more than about 40 to fifty CRPF and BSF people have been killed. Let the Government which had created the Rapid Action Force, give some special funds to those States which are having insurgent activities and let them also create an anti-insurgent battalion. They should be armed with those weapons by which they can counter the insurgency.

Secondly, I am in favour of having a discussion. Talks must be held within the jurisdiction of the Constitution of India and not beyond that. If this is done, the problem can be solved. But before you start the talk, please implement the previous Accord. The non-implementation of the Accord has not reacted the confidence in the minds of those who are insurgents. Who are those insurgents? Those insurgents are our brothers, our sisters, and they are doing all these things. We have to take care of them. Why am I saying so? Today those insurgents who have suffered, who have surrendered and who are known as ULFA should be brought into the mainstream. They are not getting employment, they are not getting any opportunity to lead their lives. They are feeling happy with the trigger of the gun. They are using their guns. Extortion, kidnapping, killings etc., have become the order of the day.

I come from an area which is known as Barak Valley. When the then Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi visited this Valley, she called it as an "Island of Peace'. Shri Rajiv Gandhi started a theory of having a Central University, and the then Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao gave us that University. We were given rewards for our maintaining peace and being a part of the mainstream because Barak Valley has never had any agitation against the Government of India or against the ethos of our country. Today, in my State, in the Valley, there is extortion, there is kidnapping because all these persons who are being removed from other States are coming and taking shelter in my State. My appeal and request to the Prime Minister is to kindly take care of the neighbouring Government including Bangladesh which is hobnobbing and giving opportunities for training of ULFA. Kindly take this up strongly with Pakistan as the ISI is becoming a nuisance for our country. It created the problem in Punjab and they were ousted. It tried to create problems in Kashmir and still creating problems in Kashmir, it has been contained there. They have got a free hand in our North-East. ISI activities are in full swing in the North-Eastern area. This must be stopped. You have to take up with the Bhutan Government. Bhutan has become a training camp for the Bodo militants. They attack from Bhutan and they go back to Bhutan. When I talked to the army people, they said that it was not possible for them to enter Bhutan as Bhutan is another country.

I happen to meet one of the diplomats in the Golf course. I do not want to name him. When I spoke to him, he said that he had a talk with the Bhutan king. He asked the Bhutan king : "Why is he not helping the Government of India when we are helping him so much?" The Bhutan king said : "How can he help? If he allows the Indian Army to enter, the militants will destroy his peace and the institutions. Let the Government of India give him an

assurance that they will re-build his institutions, he is ready to help." This was the version of the Bhutan Government. I appeal to this august House in this Golden Jubilee year that unless we are careful about the North-Eastern States, things are not going to improve. I am not one of those who says that by bringing in President's Rule, the problem can be solved. It will be much worse. An elected Government is much better than facing the wrath of particular bureaucracy. I do not want that. You have to strengthen it. I do not know what sort of a benefit Shri Paswan and our P.M. is going to give us. Whenever he goes to Punjab, he gives them money and writes off the additional expenditure incurred on the maintenance of law and order. He gives it to Kashmir also. But in case of Assam, Nagaland and other places, he closes his eyes.

This is not fair. You should not treat us in different status. If you give it to one State, you should give it to other States also. You should give the additional expenditure to Assam and Nagaland also. Without this, there is no development. These are all deficit States. They do not have money to spend. What is happening there? I am the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Urban and Rural Development. I know, most of the States are diverting your money and spending it for other reasons like in the maintenance of law and order which has become their first priority. For that, I do not blame them. I should not bring all these things in my report. But what I am telling is that let us not leave the North-Eastern States. You should not just do it at a time when it is too late. You have a Government here supported by all of us and you have to perform on this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I know that I have another two-three minutes. But I will not give you a chance to ring the bell. Before that, I will ring my bell and conclude.

Sir, this House has approved, on which I entirely agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Somnath Chatterjee, that if we desire, we can have a disciplined House. If we want, we can conduct the business of the House in a very nice manner. On the 50th year, what we have done in the last five days, that is, so many Members have spoken–and you have also created a record by sitting on the Chair like a marathon runner. You have become a Chairman with marathon record–let us hope that all of us will follow this in future also. Our conduct of House should be like that.

Somewhere, some Members said that the issues concerning drought, floods and all such subjects should be sent to the Standing Committees for discussion and their recommendations should be sent to the House. The House should discuss the business of the legislation. The House should discuss matters of international politics. I know, the Code of Conduct is there. It is not a good thing. But it is the only thing that can be done.

I hope, at the end of the day Resolution will be passed today, there will be a consensus on the population control, there will be a consensus on giving primary and elementary education, and there will be a consensus that all of us, irrespective of 'isms' will fight against corruption and against criminalisation. Let us hope that in the course of another one or two months, we will pass the Bill on Electoral Reforms. In this regard, we have all met and also come to a certain decision. In the next Winter Session, this Bill must come. Unless this is done, I think, all of us are not doing the good thing.

12.38 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Yes, Sir, I am concluding. I am glad that you have come at the right moment.

MR. SPEAKER : I have been listening to you.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Thank you, Sir. I understand, today is your happy birthday. I wish you a very happy birthday.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you, very much.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : We cannot give you a prize but I feel proud that being a very simple man from GARO Hills, without any tradition of the past, you have created a history.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO (Berhampur) : He was born in the Independence year of India.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Yes, he was born in the year 1947 when India became Independent.

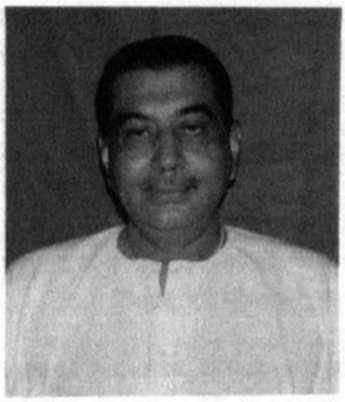
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am also happy that you have given the leadership to all these parties. Persons like, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Sharad Pawar, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, and all others have cooperated with you. You have got cooperation from the whole House. As some paper wrote, you are a smiling Buddha ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I conclude by saying that it is for the first time I have seen that about 90 per cent of the Members have participated on this discussion above politics, above parochialism and above regionalism, and this is a great

achievement of fifty years of our Independence by this august House.

We are anxiously waiting to hear the historical speeches from hon. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Mr. Prime Minister, and I hope these two gentlemen with Shri Sharad Pawarji in the middle, will create a situation that we need not go to the Elections in the next three years' time.

With these few words, I conclude.



SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO

SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal) : Speaker Sir, Since I shall not be successful in getting an opportunity to participate in this historic discussion in the special session of Parliament, Lok Sabha "on the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence" commencing on 26 August 1997, I shall be failing in my duty to the people, who have sent me to Parliament, six times, since 1967 if I do not record my thoughts for the record in Parliament proceedings and for positivity.

Sir, history is written 50 years after events, so that objectivity, full facts and analysis are available, as well as lessons can be learnt for future requirements.

I would like to congratulate you, Hon. Speaker, for having thoughtfully taken the initiative to hold a special commemorative session of the Lok Sabha, I also express my admiration and grateful thanks to the leaders of political parties in the Lok Sabha for endorsing your initiative and the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha and the entire staff of Parliament for compiling an excellent brochure, filled with the latest objective data as a background material and reference for the occasion and for future.

Sir, your thought provoking "Maiden" speech has analysed and suggested many excellent points and has been unique in a number of ways, least of which was, it set the tone, pace and direction the debate and discussion will take.

The deliberations were of a very high order and has restored Parliament's prestige and role to a great extent. It also unearthed many latent talents amongst the young and fresh parliamentarians, augmenting well for the future of parliamentary democracy.

Democracy is government of the people, for the people and by the people. People are supreme. The sovereign people of India, in the Preamble to the Constitution and I quote:

"We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic and to secure to all the citizens:

Justice, Social, economic and political liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all.

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and the integrity of the nation."

Expression 'socialist' was intentionally introduced in the preamble to the constitution (42nd amendment) act, 1976. The principle aim of our socialist state is to eliminate inequality in income and status and standards of life. The basic framework of socialism is to provide a decent standard of life to the working people and especially provide security from cradle to grave. This amongst other things on economic side envisaged economic equality and equitable distribution of income. This is a blend of Marxism and Gandhism leaning heavily towards Gandhian socialism. From a whole feudal exploited slave society to a vibrant, throbbing socialist welfare society is a long march but during this journey to the fulfilment of goal every state action whenever taken must be directed, must be so interpreted as to take the society towards the goal D.S. Nakua Vs. Union of India, 1983 section 305, 325, 326 unquote.

Now this forms part of constitution and Directive Principles of State Policy.

Therefore, the pillars of democracy as enshrined in the Constitution.

Independent Legislature

Independent Executive

Independent Judiciary

Independent 4th Estate - The press and the media must be accountable to the people of India.

Mr. Speaker Sir, in your maiden speech you have touched on the most vital and crucial subjects of :

(a) Political Life

Popular elections and sustenance of democracy, conduct of business of the House

Accountability

Probity and standards in public life

Social peace, violence, and insurgency

Empowerment of women.

(b) Administration

(c) Population

(d) Education

If I may humbly submit, basic and primary, secondary education should be free and compulsory and physical education and sport, must be an integral part and curriculum of studies and education.

Women's education should be free and states contribution compulsory with no upper limit of education and training for human resource development, professional skill acquisition.

(e) Agriculture

Food self sufficiency and Green Revolution compulsory.

Agricultural growth rate inorganic cultural practices and their implications.

Agriculture and civil supplies form exports.

(f) Public Distribution

Freedom from hunger delivery of service.

(g) Industry

Past and future.

Rehabilitation of sick central public sector establishments; its inevitability and human dimensions.

A new work culture productivity.

(h) Exports Scenario

(i) Economic Reforms
Wealth generation
Foreign direct investments. (FDI)

(j) Science & Technology

(k) Environment and Ecology
Restoration and protection.

(l) Conclusion

The need for a *second freedom struggle* for freedom from own internal contradictions between our prosperity and poverty between the plenty of resource developments and scarcity of their prudent management between the culture of peace and tolerance and our current conduct of sliding towards violence, intolerance and discrimination.

Sir, yours is a thought provoking and inspiring speech which has touched the heart and soul. May I now humbly do my duty? I begin my respectful homage and tribute to millions of patriots, nationalists and the freedom fighters–for their selfless love for the motherland India, their supreme sacrifice sustained faith, self discipline, self suffering in the cause of the mother land for achieving for us the freedom, when freedom was nowhere in sight under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to various movements, such as Khilafat, non co-operation, civil disobedience movement, thereby inculcating high degree of political consciousness among people; steeled them to face the rigorous of a non-violent movement against the entrenched might of the strongest imperial power of the world at that time–the British empire where the sun never set and British rule of bureaucrats and business interests.

Aim : Was Swaraj/Purna Swaraj Technique was Satyagraha.

Shield : Truth and Ahimsa

Mahamantra : Do or die

This was an unique contribution to the people of the world. My homage to the founding fathers of the constitution and the galaxy of Indian statesmen who had the foresight of drafting unique constitution—flexible, dynamic and instrument of change, a vehicle of social transformation.

My homage to my parents, who underwent innumerable humiliations, harassments, indignities, intimation and insults, hounded and hunted with two little children, one a deaf and

dumb, the fugitives for being admirers and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Arrest orders were issued in 1942.

Incidentally my father late Shankar Pratap Singh Deo Mahindra Bahadur, Vidyasagar was the first Orissa ruler to sign the instrument of accession—the Merger Agreement and thus our agony turned to ecstasy on 15th August, 1947 when India achieved Independence.

Sir, it is a matter of unique honour and pride that I represent the people of Dhankanal as a free citizen of free India in Indian Parliament since 1967. My father and mother Ratna Pruva Devi were members of the Legislative Assembly in 1957, mother in 1961 and 1967 and father an MP in 1964, I also had the privilege of representing Orissa in the Rajya Sabha from 1972 to 1976 and had the proud privilege of defending my motherland India in the 1971 Indo-Pak war as an officer of 144 Air Defence Artillery Regiment Territorial Army.

I am proud of being from the State of Orissa.

— Land of Lord Jagannath—Lord of the Universe—the most secular concept.

— Lord of Pioneers.

Which transformed Chandra (Devil) Ashoka to Dharma Ashoka—the benevolent model ideal ruler full of compassion for fellow human beings animals, birds, insects, plants—flora and fauna environment and ecology.

Dharma as duty.

Today his Chakra is on our national emblem and the National Flag—the tricolour.

— Land of great pioneer, astronomer Pathani Samant who with ordinary sticks chartered the moon and stars much before Galileo.

— Land which gave to the world the concept of the best furnace, the iron pillar of Konarak much before Qutab Minar.

— Land which gave the Oryza the botanical name for rice.

— Land of Veera Surendra Sai, the guerilla a fighter much before Ch. Guerera and Mao Tse Tung, Gen. Giap.

The birth place of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Land of Emperor Kharvela, the ideal and secular thing and the pioneering sea faring Bali Yatra the maritime expedition to Java, Bali, Sumatra and Sinhala.

I came from Dhenkanal which inspired Novelist D. L. Roy to compare Shahajahan and the song Dhana Dhanye Pushpe Bhara, Aje Amader Basundhara, Thara Majhe Acche Je Sakal Desher Sehra, Swapna Diya Totri Seje, Smriti Diye Ghera, Amon Desh Ti Khuje Pave Na Ko Tumi, Shakol Desher Rani Seja Ammar Janma Bhumi.

The harmony with nature, abundant national endowments and the Queen of all land—our mother-land.

I am proud of my country's achievements:

1. Green revolution in agriculture.
2. White revolution in milk and dairying.
3. The revolution in fisheries marine acquaculture.
4. Industry.
5. Science & Technology.
6. Exports.
7. Communications.

   Telecom.

   Electronic Media.

   Railways.

   Shipping.

   Aviation.

   Roadways.
8. Rural development and empowerment.
9. Sports, Education & Culture.
10. Power and Energy Generation including nuclear energy and all sources of energy, renewable source of energy and energy the modern temples of Jawahar Lal Nehru, the gigantic public sectors, steel, cement, power plants, heavy engines, fertilisers, aluminium.

    Social Security and Empowerment

    Anti-Poverty schemes

    Public Distribution System

    Health Scheme and Care

    Ecology & environment

    Consumer protection

Decentralisation–power to the people, empowerment to women SC/ST youth of 18 years by reduction of voting age and reservation of Panchayati Raj and Nagar Palika Institution.

Technological Mission:

Computerisation.

Legal Aid to Poor.

But a lot remains to be done.

Efficiency in administration : Integrity in administration is essence of good govt. and therefore remedy for injustice, miscarriage of justice, denial of justice, accountability and responsibility, responsive administration, in a simple, rational time bound limit calls for supreme authority, such as Lok Pal as well as for delay and denial of justice so that those administering justice including judiciary are accountable to the people who are supreme.

Our bureaucracy is one of the finest in the world. Many have been sought by agencies outside Govt., for their professional skill and integrity and administrative acumen and management qualities. But they must be given directions, aims and challenges in a clear unambiguous a political and objective manner alongwith authority, autonomy, accountability and responsibility fixed within a time frame, time bound manner.

Our Planning process and planning commission have done an excellent job of a difficult scenario but they need to focus by state like Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and N.E. with large percentage of tribals, Scheduled Castes, backwards, economically weaker sections have now progressed much and regional disparity has been increasing.

It is necessary for them to be accountable may be micro level planning with adequate infrastructure and organisation is called for.

The spirit of freedom struggle of people's participation and involvement is called for and we must all call for this. History has a way of repeating itself and we must take a leaf out for learning lessons for future.

India has been safeguarded due to synthesis and assmilation irrespective of caste, community or creed, religion. It is culture that has bound us together.

The Indian culture and Ethos prevails in the secular shrines —

(1) The armed forces of India.

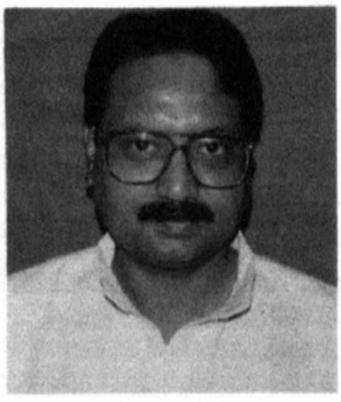
(2) The sanctuaries and National Parks in the beautiful surroundings of the forests of India.

The first bullet of the spark of the 1857 movement was fired by Sepoy Mangal Pande. Thereafter in 1946 the mutiny of Royal Indian Navy 1946 which hastened the Independence of India.

27 Oct. 1947–Battle of Badgam, Srinagar saw free India Army–National Army pay the supreme sacrifice of Maj. Somnath Sharma, N.K. Jadunath Singh, CHM Piru Singh, Subedar Karan Singh and were decorated and honoured by Param Vir Chakras. Till date they are paying down their lives to the mother India for its integrity and unity, secular ideals preserved. 50 lakhs Ex-Servicemen who have their best years are fending for themselves in penuary.

Can we not give them equal pension, can we not have Finance Development Corporation as we have done for others.

Thank you, Sir, may I request and submit that they form part of the proceedings.



SHRI ANAND RATNA MAURYA

[Translation]

SHRI ANAND RATNA MAURYA (Chandauli) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this special Session which has been convened on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of our Independence is significant as it has provided opportunity for a meaningful discussion on the prevailing situation in the country.

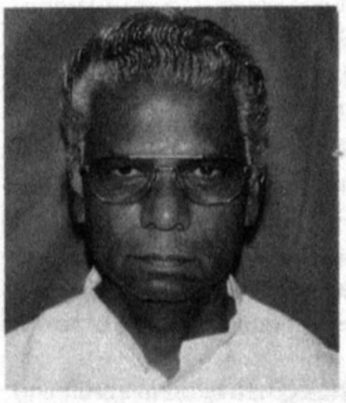
Sir, on the Golden Jubilee year the country is facing serious problems like unemployment, poverty and corruption. Mahatma Gandhi had given a slogan during the freedom struggle that "India lives in villages and therefore, cottage and village industries should be promoted." In fact this is the only solution which can provide work to every hand and we can remove unemployment. It is unfortunate that mockery has been made of the slogan of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi's dream was cottage and village industries whereas he did not say that cloth should be manufactured in this sector alone. It was symbolic. In fact this was an effort to industrialise the villages but no initiative was taken in this direction.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the permanent solution to the problem of unemployment is not big industries and factories but cottage and village industries in small villages. This House should seriously ponder over it and take concrete measures. Even after 50 years of Independence more than 50 crore people are living below the poverty line. This is a matter of grave concern. The House should resolve to eradicate poverty and what effective measures should be taken in this direction.

The business community has been reduced to second rate citizens. There is a general impression that business community is a group of thieves whereas the Government servants who are not related to production and other activities enjoy a special status and are a respectable community. This is the biggest mistake and is a serious problem. If the section of society which runs the economy of the country does not get due social respect, then unemployment and poverty will continue and the country will never prosper. Therefore, the House should bring forward a resolution whereby ways and means should be found to provide social respect to the business community so that the youth do not think about Government jobs alone but turn to business.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to say much about corruption. I would only say that today corruption has moved from the level of Patwari to the Prime Minister and it is the primary duty of every Member of this House to curb it with determination.

Suo motu declaration of property by all the public servants in the country whether they are public representatives or Government servants should be made mandatory. Only then we can deal with this problem effectively.



SHRI YELLAIAH NANDI

[English]

SHRI YELLAIAH NANDI (Siddipet) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today we are in the golden jubilee year of our Independence, which had been recently celebrated throughout our Nation in a historical joyful manner.

Our achievements after independence can be attributed to our political life and successful practise of Democracy.

Our Nation is evergrateful to the great Freedom Fighters like Mahatma Gandhi (Father of our Nation), Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose, Shri Vallabhai Patel, Shri Abdul Kalam Azad and many other great leaders, who laid the Freedom Movement and gave proper conceptual directions to our Nation to function successfully as the biggest secular Democratic Nation in the world.

Prior to Independence our Nation has suffered from miserable exploitation in every walk of life under British Colonial rule. Prior to Independence, India was neither in a position to produce a pin nor a pen.

Entire Nation with 30 crores of population faced miserable days of political exploitation, extreme economical exploitation and starvation with deprivation of education by a very vast majority of population under British Colonial rule.

Today after Independence in these 50 years, with a vast population of nearly 95 crores, when compared to those days of British Colonial rule, when our population was hardly 30 crores, we can confidently say that we have achieved many things in every walk of our lives.

The achievements have reached to a vast population and to a vast area of our Nation.

India has surpassed the aspiration of its founders in a host of areas specially in technology and agriculture. Indian agriculture has witnessed a revolution, evolving from subsistence farming and food imports to a leading exporter.

The Nation entered the exclusive space club when the first indigenously built satellite "Aryabhatta" was launched into orbit followed by a series of satellites that are best in class, which can very easily be compared with the satellites as produced by Advanced Nations in the World.

India is leading even in the advanced computer technology and India joined the computing age with the development of its own super computer, one of the best for weather forecasting and advanced scientific analysis in several fields and in Nuclear research the country bears the distinction of mastering "fast breeder" technology inspite of serious technology transfer restrictions from Advanced Nations.

Today, India is the seventh largest Industrialised Nation in the world and has much reason to celebrate the Golden

Jubilee year of Independence. To-day our Nation produces its own fighter aircrafts, missiles, power plants, automobiles, nuclear fuels, nuclear medicines, chemical dyes, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, cement, steel, sugar, textile, refineries, a large number of electronic equipments, heavy machineries and a large number of many more items and in agriculture our Nation has achieved self sufficiency to feed 95 crores of population, which is itself a great unique achievement of our Nation since its Independence.

India's nuclear capabilities as demonstrated by the Peaceful Nuclear explosion at Pokhran in 1974 and the simultaneous development of rocket and missile technology, would provide India, if it so desired, with the required delivery systems.

This indicates the growth of our economy and our National Wealth and our capacity to produce remarkable National Wealth in several sectors through our present political life and parliamentary system of our practising democracy.

Politically, socially, economically and educationally we have achieved many things when compared to pre-independence period. Ours is the only Nation, which is the biggest secular democratic nation of the world with a vast population of 95 crores of people and we have proved before the world that ours is a successful workable secular democratic nation of the world even in the midst of diversified cultures and religions with a large number of various diversified languages.

These achievements are based on the Political and Economic Models with decentralisation of Political Power and Socialistic Pattern of Society and with Non-alignment and Peaceful co-existence as Foreign Policy and the present political life and parliamentary system of democracy as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar.

Our great leaders studied the various political Institutions and constitutions of the world and after taking some of their good concepts framed our own political, economical systems with our own unique constitution. There is a flexibility in our political, economical and constitutional systems, which can be utilised for introducing certain amendments and radical changes, whenever need arises in the changed circumstances of the world but without changing the basic structures inherent in them and without exactly copying from others as no other nation exists in parallel to our Nation and all reforms have to be brought within the framework of our political and economical concepts as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar, then we can be confident of overcoming many odds which we are facing today and our Nation would march ahead in a manner of being an example to other Nations in every walk of life.

India is a Union of States with a great endeavour in cooperative Federalism.

Article 1 of the Constitution itself clearly and unambiguously states that India is a Union of States. Indeed, ours is a unique system of federation with a manifest unitary character. The spheres and activities of the Union and the States are clearly demarcated. The provision of the concurrent list is another salutary feature in the scheme of things. With the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, powers have been devolved on the Panchayats and Nagar Palikas too. This transmission of power at the lower levels "Power to the People", it was felt, would make the system not only more democratic but also administratively more efficient in tune with the larger concept of good governance.

In these fifty years after Independence, India has justifiably earned a great name as the world's largest working Parliamentary democracy. Our faith in the efficacy of representative Institutions has not been of recent origin. The existence of deliberative representative bodies and democratic Institutions in our country can be traced back to Vedic period. The democratic ideals of our people were also at the core of our National liberation movement. Thus when freedom dawned on the Indian horizon, it was only logical and correct in stating that our founding fathers opted for a parliamentary democratic institution for our people.

The strength of our democracy is to be seen in a pro-active willingness to share political power. The framers of our Constitution were people with vision and laid down parameters for the Centre to share power with the States. They also stipulated in the Constitution, local self governance as a directive principle. The latest Constitutional Amendments have translated this directive principle on self governance into an integral part of the Constitution itself. A large number of subjects relating to agriculture, health, education, rural industries, urban development, etc. have been listed for being vested in the three-tier Panchayat Raj Institutions. What is important, however, is the basic willingness on the part of those in whose hands power is now vested to share it down the hierarchy of local self-governance.

To-day, we are also experiencing heavy odds in running our Governments and in fulfilling the complete aspirations of our people.

We have to overcome these odds by making our Democratic Institutions more democratic in a fool-proof and extremely transparent manner and our party systems should be made extremely democratic right from its grassroot level.

The executive machinery at every level right from the lowest level to the highest level should be made accountable, exclusively to the rule of law and the people.

Mere talking of corruption in a fit of emotions and by making people more emotional in this respect, so as to rally round politicians who talk against corruption is not a solution at all. The Governments at State and Central level should examine in-depth regarding every Departments functioning and find the root cause of corruption at every level of Bureaucratic Executive machinery of every Department and find a workable solution at every level.

First, corruption should be eliminated from the Election Process itself.

The Election Commission should function as Independently as Judiciary and even more than that. Any voter who is convicted by any court for any period of sentence should not be allowed to contest any election for atleast ten years.

Just as a voter has got the right to exercise his freedom of voting so also the Democratic Institutions of our country which had been built up through decades of struggle; must have a right to secure the decision of a voter; for which voting should be made compulsory throughout India right from Gram Panchayat Elections to Legislative Assemblies and parliamentary elections and issue of Photo-identity card to every voter should be made compulsory for exercising one's right to vote.

Those who do not vote should be fined heavily and exercising of one's vote should be made compulsory by law.

The State should compulsorily find the entire election expenses of all the candidates right from Gram Panchayat to Legislative and Parliamentary Elections and security deposit amounts for any candidate should be sufficiently increased to avoid weak candidates from contesting any election.

Every Independent candidate should be sufficiently supported by some elected representatives of Institutions lower to the Institutions to which they file their nominations.

The National Political Parties which function regularly in atleast more than 50% of the States, should alone be allowed to contest for Parliamentary Elections on Party's symbols by the Election Commission. All National Party's elections should be conducted by Election Commission regularly and the accounts of every National and regional party should be regularly audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. Necessary amendments should be made in the Constitution for all radical reforms and just as the Election Commission is empowered to automatically conduct elections for Parliamentary Elections regularly; in a similar manner, the Election Commission alone should be empowered to conduct the Elections regularly for all panchayats and Municipalities and various Democratic Institutions; by which step alone the Democracy at grass-root level could be strengthened. These and many similar radical changes would eliminate corruption and criminalisation of politics and such radical changes would certainly strengthen our Democracy and Parliamentary system of Governance with clean administration.

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the resolution on the eve of 50th Anniversary of Independence of India. After the review of last 50 years achievements it is found that the Congress Party has been able to carry forward the nation because of various economic policies and programmes. The History of the country will remind us the dedication of the Congress Party for the Freedom Movement lead by Mahatma Gandhi and the achievements done by 42 years of his dedicated service by the governance of the country, ensure political and economical stability of the country. Mahatma Gandhi, Congress Movement for freedom of the country, and the independence of the country will have to incorporate to identify India as an Independent Nation. History can not be completed and fullfleged without incorporating the one with the other. India hardly had any resources when we achieved independence but they were not merely obliged because of political stagnation. But Congress party have been running the country for the last 42 years, rose to the occasion and made it useful by implementing the economic policies through various measures. During the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Late Prime Minister of India the abolishment of Privy Purse and Nationalisation of Bank have helped a lot and a long way to go with the promising future for the farmers who were responsible to bring progressive changes in the growth of agricultural production as well as the farmers.

The institutional supremacy of the banks were cut-short and through bank nationalisation, it was found that entire direction of the functioning of the bank should be aimed at giving financial help to the farmers through bank loans, bank subsidies by NABARD, giving economical loan and through BPL beneficiary under IRDP schemes. Although there were major resources in the country but they were not used for the purpose of irrigation and drinking water. So, in order to increase and enhance the irrigation and drinking water infrastructure. Congress Party undertook for construction of major dams over the rivers Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Kaveri, Mahanadi so and so on, including medium and small irrigation projects. Because of this hack-tic and progressive measure this country has been able to produce access foodgrains for internal consumption as well as export to other countries of the world.

To enhance economic condition of the ST&SC and backward class people many welfare programmes were undertaken like wages or like Indira Awas Yojna, Old Age Pension, Widow Pension and financial loan of ST&SC Corporation etc.

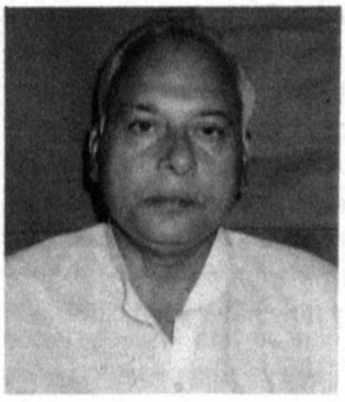
In defence we have been able to become well sufficient for manufacturing of our own defence production like Prithvi and Agni and Nuclear weapons. We have successfully launched the Space Satellite through which various programmes were covering and defence capabilities were increased. So far as health and education is concerned mid-day-meal opening of residential schemes whether there has been lot of progress both in education and illiteracy. Congress has brought life and success to the human being who suffered the days of slavery and servitude during the pre-independence period and become a civilised and sophisticated human community.

The function of the Planning Commission has been quite mild and immobile because of the fact that we have been guided by rules and procedures which rearly raise the occasion giving economic freedom to those areas and the people who really mean it and need it. There has been no planning for those distt. which are declared as non-industrial district, no-railways, no-industrial growth, although they are including under the category of SC & ST and OBC people, DPAP distt. The Govt. is silent, the Parliament is silent, the Planning Commission is silent and they can not have an answer to such a loophole and a set-back for which poverty has still being running over and as and when where as any natural calamity, famine, drought, flood, there has been instance of loss of life, migration of people, starvation and death. The country therefore, has not paid any attention, the Parliament is mute-mum, the Govt. is dump funded, the law of country is seemingly blind. As far as the Parliament is concerned out of 540 M.Ps, half of M.Ps rarely speak or participate in the debate of the House. There is no such device which could enable all the 540 M.Ps to participate in raising their voice and having a say in the matter of passing resolution or making legislation and giving a direction to the Govt. to response and react. The need and demand of all 540 M.Ps in view of the promises and services of their respective constituency so on so frequently. There are precence of how member writes to the Minister to the Prime Minister. But neither the Government nor the Parliament is in a position to explain to the people and the country to elect all the 540 M.Ps. We boast ourselves in saying that ours is a country of larger democracy and there are quotations also by some renowned political thinkers and political scientists in saying that the definition of the democracy is of the people–for the people–by the people. But at the same time there is a contrast and contradiction in saying–Democracy is of the fools–for the fools and by the fools. I can not compromise in the above interpretation of Definition of Democracy but I feel that this is the time that the Parliament and the Govt. should feel the pulse of the people and do not make the people of the country feel of those who elected all the 540 M.Ps.–have the right to demand for respective constituencies.

As regards the Reservation of Women Bill, I am sorry to state that the Govt. has expressed its concern to sympathise with the demand of the women and the most elite class of women folk of the country. I rise my sheer objection that nobody is trying to find out the evils which the women folk of the country face in their day to day life like unemployment of women, women as widow and handicapped, women as the exploited community who suffer the life of servitude as a housewife, as a daily labour, as woman who is being raped and ravaged in the red-light areas. No woman is raising why this injustice has been inflicted to the above categories of woman community and fight for their livelihood for nutrition, hygienic, for education and employment to lead the life of a respectable, civilised, sophisticated and the most vulnerable citizens of our country. Therefore, I urge upon the Parliament and the Govt. first of all to ensure their rights and livelihood as a true citizen of the country.

It is found that there has been no coordination or harmony between the Judiciary, Parliament, Executive, Press Media which are the four pillars of the Democracy. Each one is fighting for the cause of their supremacy and sovereignty. Nobody is prepared to come to the level of understanding and find a solution—thereby to sit and discuss the lacunas and give suggestions to direction how best they coordinate for the cause of the progress of the country and thereby rise to the occasion to see that the direction of

the Constitution is achieved through the policies and programmes by the Govt. through the above institutions. Therefore, the Parliament is the voice of the people which needs to be more effective, more pragmatic and more result-oriented than remain a proxy of rules and procedures and the law of the land. There should be accountability of the Govt. to the Parliament in every matter in the real sense and meaning by doing the present Special Session. I wish that the Govt., the Parliament, the Judiciary and the Press Media, the Constitution, they should function in a most befitting manner so as to respond the need of the hour and fulfil the dream and desire of those who have dedicated their lives for the cause of the freedom of the country.



SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT

[Translation]

SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT (Agra) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I would like to congratulate you for convening this historic special session on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of our Independence as it has provided an opportunity to Members to express themselves freely. You have yourself created a history of sorts by addressing this august House and proposing a resolution.

Several Hon. Speakers who spoke prior to me drew the attention of the House to the increasing corruption and the dangers that criminalisation is posing to politics. Corruption is a cancer which is eating into the vitals of our public life. When corruption starts from above its speed is higher and it percolates down faster. If you ask a rickshaw puller to take reasonable fare he replies that he is simply asking for more fare for his labour and is not looting the country as our politicians and leaders occupying high offices do.

Criminalisation in politics has increased so much that if we do not try to curb it, there is an apprehension that as we enter the next century, the representatives of Mafia group or even their heads would be occupying seats in the Parliament and State legislatures. An ordinary person would not be able to contest elections. Criminals will capture booths by muscle power during elections. Earlier the capitalists and industrialists used to get their agents elected through money power and now muscle power is taking over and these criminals are getting their favourites elected to legislatures. Persons like Phoolan Devi are being glorified. The media is also responsible for hero worship of these criminals. Therefore, the need of the hour is to curb criminalisation of politics with determination. If need be amendment should be brought in the Representation of People's Act so that criminalisation in politics is curbed and if the lower court awards punishment to a culprit and the culprit's appeal is pending in a High Court he should be treated as criminal under the Representation of Peoples' Act and declared disqualified. Generally it takes 15-20 years for the High Courts to decide cases. Sometimes the High Courts stay the punishments, sometimes they give bail but the criminal should not get the benefit of all this, because one court has already held him guilty. Environment, though, is an issue of national importance, it has failed to get due importance in the House.

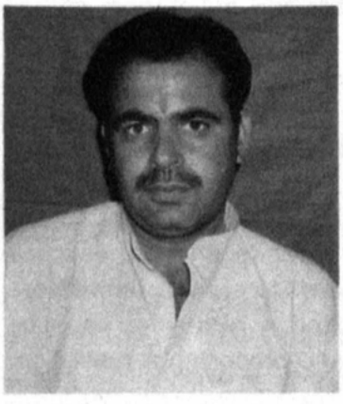
The Government has to awaken the will power to solve the problem of pollution whether it is environment pollution or pollution of some other kind. The Government will have to adopt a pragmatic approach. This problem cannot be solved through a negative approach. The neglectful attitude on the part of the Government in the post-independence industrialisation has affected our God gifted rivers the worst. No river in the country has remained unaffected from the ill-effects of this pollution, so much so that even the sacred Ganga is no more an exception. Ganga water has been polluted right from Rishikesh and Haridwar. So far as the Yamuna in concerned, the less said, the better. After Delhi, the water of Yamuna river is like poison which is dangerous even for the cattle, not to speak of human beings. Such water renders the soil useless if used for irrigational purpose. Agricultural produce from such soil is bound to be harmful for health. The same is true of Gomati river as well. In the name of environmental improvement, Courts have pronounced several judgments which are anomalous. These anomalies are there due to the reason that the Government fails to place all relevant facts before the Courts in a proper way. The need of the hour is that the Government should formulate a comprehensive policy on environment and mobilise financial resources therefor. While formulating such a policy, the Government will have to strike a balance between livelihood, employment, development and environment. Recently, some decisions have come from the Courts which stipulate shifting of industries from Agra and Delhi. Industrial development of Agra has virtually come to a standstill due to this decision. It has further aggravated the unemployment scenario. Since the Government has no jobs to offer how will the economy of Agra be run? How should the youth earn a livelihood? Cases of deaths due to

starvation are increasing. Chambal ravines were once freed from the clutches of dacoit king Man Singh and others. Does the Government want to see the Chambal ravines once again raven with the criminals? The same is the situation in Delhi as well. It is being said about Agra that uninterrupted supply of power would be given to the entire Taj Protected Area. Affidavit to this effect was filed on behalf of the Government of U.P. in the Supreme Court, but there is no supply of electricity there. Will such laxity help in checking pollution and saving Taj from industrial smoke? Therefore, what is needed is that the Government should take such measures to check environment pollution which may lead to the development of the area so that the purchasing power of the people may also increase. The people can afford to have two square meals only when they have the purchasing power. If the people have the livelihood, they can afford food. In such a situation, development takes place automatically which in turn can help in following the rules, regulations, restrictions and discipline regarding environment.

Taj Projected Area has three monuments of world heritage—the Taj Mahal, the Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. To protect this heritage is the duty of us all. But the Government has not formulated any well thought policy for their protection. Several Committees have made recommendations about their protection, but these recommendations were thrown into the dust-bin. These recommendations were not implemented with honesty, sincerity and a positive outlook. When it comes to implementation of the recommendations, the Central Government directs the State Government to take action. The State Government, in turn, directs the local bodies to follow suit. Nothing materialises even after all these procedural formalities.

I would suggest that the work relating to the protection from pollution or otherwise and maintenance of world heritage in the country including the aforesaid three heritages in Agra and the development of the cities in which these heritages are located as tourist Centres should be undertaken by the Central Government. The Union Government should make available the required financial resources for the purpose. The Government has not implemented many directives given by the Supreme Court in regard to the Taj Protected Area. No funds have been made available for the supply of electricity in the villages which are located in the Taj Protected Area. Proper arrangements for laying sewage drains to keep the Agra city free of filth have not been made so far. On the directive of the Supreme Court, the Planning Commission has suggested to the Central as well as the State Government to create a separate Taj Protected Area Development Fund. I would suggest that this fund should be permanently created. So far, the provision of allocation of fund exists for the Ministry of Environment and the Uttar Pradesh Government makes allocation under the head of urban development and, hence, there is an urgent need to create a separate fund for this purpose. Separate funds should be allocated for this purpose every year and a study team should be deputed to go into the problems and to suggest long term and immediate measures. Arrangement should also be made to get separate allocation of funds from the Finance Commission for the development of the Taj Protected Area.

We shall have to take some stringent measures to contain growth of population. I would suggest that no couple should be allowed to have more than two children and this two children norm should be adhered to irrespective of caste and religious affiliations. After having two children, the parents—father as well as mother—should undergo compulsory sterilization. This will help in solving of problem of divorce and consequent second marriage. The demon of population explosion is neutralising the benefits of development and is ruining the economy and the resources. It is pushing us backwards in the race of progress. The need of the hour is to have an integrated policy of child development so that the country may have good citizens in the years to come.



CHAUDHARY TEJVIR SINGH

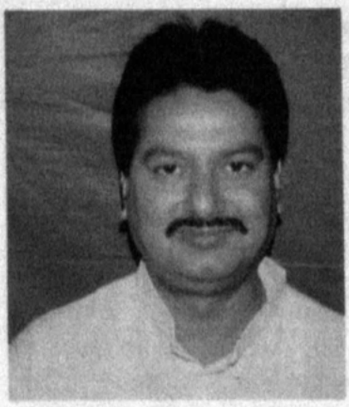
CHAUDHARY TEJVIR SINGH (Mathura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I express my gratitude to Golden Jubilee of our Independence. I am also grateful to you for having given me an opportunity to express my views on this auspicious occasion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our freedom fighters underwent numerous tortures and went to gallows gladly in order to free this country from foreign rule. They sacrificed themselves for the cause of freedom and chanted the song "mera rang de basanti chola" before kissing the noose of the hangman.

Mahatma Gandhi inspired the countrymen to wage a struggle for freedom; adopted non-violence as means to freedom and gave the nation the slogan "Quit India" to drive the Englishmen out of this soil. The famous words of Subhas Chandra Bose "Give me blood and I will give you

freedom" worked as a catalyst in burning the fire of freedom in the hearts of the people. Chandrashekhar 'Azad', Ashfaqullah Khan, Rajguru, Sukhdev and others sounded the bugle of freedom which culminated in actual independence on 15th August, 1947. The Union Jack was replaced by the tri-colour. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question that arises is as to what are our achievements and what are our failures during these 50 years of our Independence? Have we been able to achieve the objective for which we waged the war of independence? Have we been able to bring a great country like India in the fore-front of other developed nations during these 50 years? My categorical answer to these questions is 'no'. I do not say that there has been no development in the country but we have failed to keep the pace of development of the country and to make India economically prosperous as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi and other freedom fighters. I have listened to the speech of Shri Madhavrao Scindia. He said that the Congress Party ruled the country for 42 years and that the nation had been fortunate to that extent. I would like to tell Scindiaji that the country would have been fortunate had it been among the developed nations. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have to set agenda for next fifty years which includes launching of another freedom struggle, bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, making India strong from social, political and economic point of view and revival of sense of freedom struggle in our national life. We have to accord top priority to our agricultural sector and small scale industries. We have to create the feeling among poor labourers about the removal of economic disparity. And at the same time we have also to teach the lesson of 'Vande Matram' to our children only then we can think of development of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, India is pre-dominantly an agrarian country. There is no shortage of water in our country. Plenty of river water, fertile land and manpower is available in India but in spite of all this the production in agriculture sector is not adequate. The only reason therefor is that much attention has not been paid towards the agricultural sector. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can say without any hesitation that the importance, which the farmers of this country deserve, was never attached to them by the erstwhile Governments of this country. Farmers do not get adequate support prices for their produces. They do not get good quality of seeds, fertilizers and the required insecticides well in time. Resultantly farmers are losing their courage. It is said that India is self-reliant in the field of foodgrains and our country is exporting foodgrains to foreign countries but the next time we hear that India is importing foodgrains from foreign countries that too at higher rates. That is why, I submit that we have to give priority to our agricultural sector. We have to raise the living standard of our farmers and fill their lives with great amount of happiness. If our farmers are happy, there would be all round happiness in the whole country itself. The task to bring India into the front line of the developed countries will be done only by the farmers of this soil. But the situation today is that the potato an agriculture produce by our farmers is lying outside cold storage or fields because of lack of cold storage facilities. Farmers do not get timely payment for their sugarcane crop and for that adequate and better arrangements have to be made. Chaudhary Charan Singh used to say that property of country emanates from our villages and field. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to dwell to certain extent on our education system. We have to lay much stress on the need of education. Our rural areas are backward just because of lack of education. We have to raise the education standard in our villages. Today the situation is that the teachers who are appointed in rural areas, do not like to go to schools and take their classes. There is no proper system of education in schools of rural areas. Our entire education system is badly in the grip of English language. Only those schools are considered good enough which are having English as medium of instruction. I, through this House, want to say that if we want to keep our ancient culture alive, we have to liberate the Indian education system from the clutches of English language only then we will be able to raise our moral and social status. Mr. Speaker, Sir, many of our colleagues belonging to different political parties—I will not name any of them—have laid stress on the need of maintaining healthy democratic norms and traditions. There are four main pillars of our democracy—the Judiciary, the Legislative, the Executive and the Press but I am sorry to state that these four pillars have been attacked time and again only by some political parties and a wrong message of 'Halla Bol' was conveyed to the public only by these people. Therefore, all the political parties have to come together on a common platform and think over on all these issues seriously in order to provide strength to our democracy. Only then we can have and maintain healthy democratic norms and traditions. Mr. Speaker, Sir, coming to our defence preparedness, I would say that some of our neighbouring countries are not happy with India even then our policy would be to have a friendly relation with them but if our friendly attitude is treated for any kind of weakness by any of foreign countries then we have to keep our Army always ready to retaliate them forcefully. I would urge upon the Government that in no case our expenditure on defence should be reduced so that morale of our soldiers is boosted. Mr. Speaker, Sir, lastly I would like to say that in order to make India great and strong today the need of the hour is to promote Indian culture, to inculcate a sense of 'love to the nation' and follow the preachings of Rama-Krishna, Mahatma Gandhi, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay as also sermons of Geeta and anecdotes of Mahabharat. When we succeed in this direction, our great India will certainly continue to maintain independence in the next 50 years also.



SHRI ANIL KUMAR YADAV

SHRI ANIL KUMAR YADAV (Khagaria) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today India has completed fifty years of its independence and on this auspicious occasion this special session of the Parliament on the eve of golden jubilee of independence has been summoned. I am grateful to Hon'ble Speaker for this historical act. In this regard my suggestion is that though the country has got freedom, yet the system adopted by the Britishers has not been changed so far. Mr. Speaker, Sir, from today onwards there should be a change in this British system. Today I.A.S. and I.P.S. trainings are being imparted on the standards prescribed by the Britishers.

Sir, efforts are being made to bring changes in the economy of the country by adopting various schemes. But the Government programmes for the poor, the helpless rural labourers, farmers and destitutes are run only on paper. Even today 6 crore people of the country are living below the poverty line. They do not find any change on the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence. My area is a flood prone area and every year about 10 thousand people are rendered homeless. I think still they are not able to understand the meaning of freedom of the country. When we ask them about the meaning of freedom, they say that the pre-independence era was better. Babus are enjoying but there is no change in the development of our village. Rather we are facing loss every year due to devastating floods. Sir, the people of our country have got freedom of two types. On the one hand there are those handful people who have made themselves prosperous by sycophantising the Britishers and now their family and society have become feudatory. These feudal lords give loan to the poor at high rate of interest—by taking their undue advantage and exploiting their children from generation to generation by extracting work from them as bonded labourers. Mr. Speaker, Sir, my village falls in a remote area and the feudal people around this area are still keeping poor people as bonded labours and extracting work from their family members without making any payment. A loan of little amount increases at such a pace that it is not realised and the feudal lords exploit the poor by intimidating them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, sons and daughters of people who were in this way the sycophants of Britishers are today greasing the palms of bureaucrats and exploiting the poor and uneducated people by intimidating them.

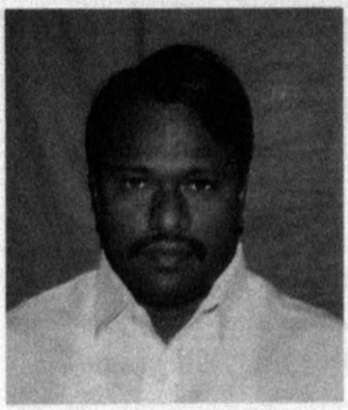
Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is my request that a rural bank should invariably be set up in each and every Gram Panchayat and it may be ensured that loans upto Rs. 5000 are made available to all villagers, farmers, labourer within twenty four hours and repayments without any interest are made within the prescribed period so that the innocent poor people could not entangle themselves with feudal lords and after meeting their immediate needs they should repay the amount to the bank within the prescribed period.

Sir, the golden jubilee of independence will become meaningful only when it could be ensured that a poor man's son does not die due to poverty and a rich man's son does not die of affluency. When there will be co-ordination between these two things then discrimination will come to an end itself and feeling of co-operation will rise among the people. They will co-operate each other without exploiting their helplessness and only then the goal of "Vasudhev Kutumbam" would be achieved.

Sir, I think that the persons who are working as the messiah of the poor are being discriminated now-a-days. Our former Chief Minister Shri Lalu Prasadji is the example of it who just had started the work of giving freedom in real sense to the poor, dalits and the hapless. Some people hatched a conspiracy against him and put him behind the bars.

Therefore, Sir, today there is a need to make improvement in the judiciary also so that it can make use the rights within its limits conferred by the constitution on it. But recently the Patna High Court issued directions for the implementation of article 356 in the State and also summoning the army for making arrests. The Central Government should think on this issue and the attention of the Supreme Court also be drawn in this regard. The Judiciary should remain independent and not arbitrary.

The Government should take measures to remove poverty, unemployment and corruption, check criminalisation of politics and also to provide education, respect and work to all. We will enjoy the golden jubilee of independence in real sense only after chalking out concrete plans by connecting every village with approach roads, by providing electricity to all villages, by making arrangements of irrigation and drinking water by lifting the families living below the poverty line above the poverty line and also by providing employment to the unemployed youth.



SHRI SUBRAHMANYAM NELAVALA

[English]

SHRI SUBRAHMANYAM NELAVALA (Tirupathi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving opportunity to me like new member.

We the Indians can be proud of our country achievements within these 50th years and I would like to thankful to all parties who was supported the Dalith to became President of India. In these cheerful occasion of 50th year of independence celebrations. Ours is the biggest democratic country in the world, and our Constitution is symbolic for democracy from this occasion I salute Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who was the Chairman of Constitution of India. In many fields, such as food, clothing, technology, defence, education, etc. etc. We have achieved worth mentioning progress, but we have to accept that we need to achieve much more, may be much more than what we have achieved to cater to the needs of our country's huge population country's poor and economically, socially backward sections.

Hence I would like to draw the attention of this august House and the countrymen towards the weaknesses amongst us and the negative side of the society which could be discussed truthfully without fear and bring out some hard facts to you Sir.

1. Sir, even after 50th year of Independence, we have not achieved self-sufficiency in our basic needs—

   (A) Water—Water to drink—water for irrigation.

   (B) Power—Power for Farmer—power for industrialists.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as a Prime Minister of India gave a slogan (Khana, Kapada, Makan) *i.e.* food, clothing and shelter. Sir, we achieved quite a good result in food and clothing, but tell me, Sir, how can we achieve better results without the basic infrastructure—water and power.

Hence let us give a slogan—Pani-Bijali & Makan; Cutting across the party lines, let us gear up the country's men, Engineers and Workers to produce enough water and plenty of power to take care of the requirement of all sections of the Society.

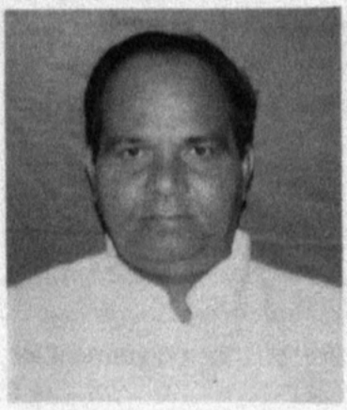
2. Population—exploring—This should be controlled at any cost—otherwise. Any amount of development works done spending thousands & tens of thousand crores will not help population to be controlled, otherwise a day will come when Ozon Layer will be burst and this population will be annihilated, completely.

3. Stability of Government for 5 years should be achieved without going to mid-term polls :

4. HUDCO Ltd.—Housing Urban Development Corporation of India Ltd. is doing a very good job by providing thousands of crores of loans for buildings EWS Housing at 9% interest which is the lowest in the country. HUDCO has given loans upto 10,000 crores so far and built atleast 64 lakhs housing units for the poorest sections. Hence the Government should be encourage HUDCO by providing more funds to build more and more EWS Houses & IAY Houses to the poor people.

Crop Insurance Policy :— In India most of the areas are effecting either floods or with drought conditions, so it is needless to request that to take village as unit for Crop Insurance, to help the poor farmers.

Regional Rural Banks :—To provide good service and to help the poor Mrs. Indira Gandhi has introduced R.R.Bs in the year 1976 nearly 1 lakhs employees are working in the 14,000 Bank Branches throughout the country but their service connections salaries and their benefits are in miserable even after 20 years gone. Most of the Bank Branches are running in the loss. It is essential to create separate Bank and to provide more funds for lending to bring the branches viable. With these words I conclude my speech.



SHRI BIR SINGH MAHATO

SHRI BIR SINGH MAHATO (Purulia) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, due to paucity of time I could not speak in the House. Hence, I lay my speech on the Table of the House.

Sir, at the outset, I express my gratitude to you for having convened this Special Session. This Special Session of the Lok Sabha on the golden jubilee of India's Independence will debar the basic problem of our country.

The people of India fought against the British imperialism for winning freedom of the united India. We got freedom by dividing the country on the basis of religion. Till now, we have been paying the price for such Division.

Sir, illiteracy is one of the basic problems. We should get rid of the problem. About 27,000 crores will be required to eradicate illiteracy. Any how, we should look forward.

Sir, poverty is another basic problem. One fourth of the total under nourished people of the world exist in India. We have taken some poverty alleviation programmes. We should also take necessary steps to remove poverty from the country. Regional imbalance is one of the threat of the unity and integrity of our nation. During the planning process the imbalance of different States should be taken into consideration.

Sir, improvement of infrastructure is necessary for industrial growth. The gap between the demand and supply of the Indian infrastructure is constantly widening. In order to meet the requirement of infrastructure much investment is necessary. We should also take note of it.

Sir, the rate of increase of population is also alarming. The population projection for the year 2001 will be about 1000 million. India will relegate China to the 2nd place. Necessary legal and other steps are also should be taken immediately.

Sir, corruption is the biggest threat that our democracy face today. It is eating into the fabrics of our society, political and economic life. Lok Pal Bill should immediately be passed.

Sir, I request that we will end our session with something meaningful, something actionable in time-bound.

SHRIMATI KETAKI DEVI SINGH

[Translation]

SHRIMATI KETAKI DEVI SINGH (Gonda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am fortunate that I am participating in the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our Independence. Here in this House we are all one. We got love and affection and we are obliged for that. Sometimes I feel that in these 50 years the country has marched ahead and progressed but sometimes I feel that we have gone many centuries back. I was surprised when I saw in the House that those who spoke of Rama were treated as untouchables. That is why I am saying that we have gone centuries back. Earlier also it so happened that those who held the name of Rama and Krishna dear to their heart were burnt to death. When the son of Hirankashyap recited Ram naam and told him that he was a demon, God himself and killed Hirankashyap. I would not say anything more.

That is why it seems that the country has gone many centuries back.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA MAHAJAN

SHRIMATI SUMITRA MAHAJAN (Indore) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the golden jubilee celebration of our Independence we are looking back at our past. In fact it is a kind of self-introspection. 50 years is no big a period for a country and that is why we may not have made desired progress in various fields. Even then we must have moved a few steps forward and whatever shortcomings had been there, we have to put our heads together and find a solution.

The demons of population explosion, illiteracy, hunger, women exploitation, corruption, criminalisation of politics, foreign pressures are playing havoc. We will have to eradicate these evils and revitalise the system. We will not only deliberate on it but take effective steps also in this direction.

For the progress of any country it is essential that the infrastructure in important sectors like industry, science technology, education, health and other sectors are strengthened. Means of transport play a vital role in the alround development of a country. But today various means of transport, be it road or railways, are neglected. We have not made desired progress in laying new railway tracks. Similarly, the percentage of goods traffic is also declining. One of the reasons is that with the change in the Cabinet our priorities also change. Some of the projects are abandoned half way after spending crores of rupees on them. One such project is in my area *viz.*, Indore-Dahod railway line. Similarly there should have been road network across the country. It is an important means for transportation of goods. Therefore part of the income from petrol should be utilised in improving the condition of roads in the country.

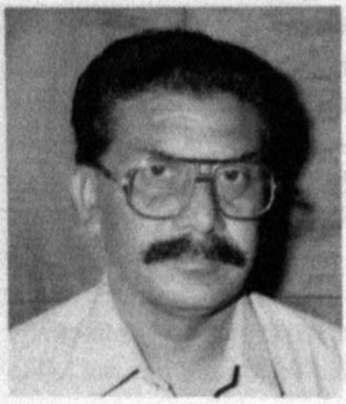
But Sir, while we may make progress in the field of transport industry or in the physical sense, in the process we are forgetting the most important element *i.e.* man and infact we are neglecting human resource. In the field of literacy we have not been able to achieve the targets in proportion to expenditure. We have not been able to provide primary health service to each village and have not effectively implemented primary education and provided other basic facilities. In the field of sports also, besides lack of proper facilities, it is being ignored. The sports schemes are being neglected so much that neither the facilities each the talented sportsmen nor are talented sports persons identified and properly trained. This is the main reason of our poor performance at the Olympics. Personality development is an integral part of sports and as it has not been effectively exploited, human development in the country has not taken place as it ought to be.

The most important force in the country is women. What is their plight today? There was a time when she used to proudly say :

"Yo Mein Jeshyasi Sangrme
Yo Mein Darpovyapohart
Yo Mein Sambalo Lokam
Sane Bharta Bhavishyati"

A person who would win me in war, who would tame me and is equally powerful, can only become husband. Today the condition of women in the country is miserable. We may launch any number of schemes for the welfare of women and legislate any number of laws to safeguard their interests, unless there is a change in attitude towards them and they are not treated as human beings, nothing will change for them. The country cannot reach the pinnacle of progress without them. Women may constitute 50 per cent of the total population so far as statistics are concerned but they have 100 per cent contribution in the development of society. She is the builder of society.

Sir, there is a need for the change in education system but at the same time today we are forgetting our ideals. If we tell our children that Akbar was Great then why do not we tell them about the valiant Maharana Pratap who fought against him. It is true that Mahatma Gandhi played a unique role in our freedom struggle but we have harped on the theme during the last 50 years that we have got freedom without shedding blood. This has left an indelible impression the minds of youth and they have forgotten the revolutionaries who shed blood during the freedom struggle. As a result there is lack of national consciousness and patriotic zeal and fervour among the youth and the demons of corruption and terrorism are playing havoc. We should ponder over this situation and there is still time when we can awaken the spirit of nationalism by strengthening the infrastructure and providing equal opportunities to men and women. Thus, once again India can have it pride of place among the comity of nations and become a world leader.



SHRI CHHATAR SINGH DARBAR

SHRI CHHATAR SINGH DARBAR (Dhar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of our independence. According to official figures, crores of rupees have been spent on the welfare of SCs and STs. I represent Dhar (Madhya Pradesh) constituency. Since I belong to a Scheduled Tribe community, I have seen the economic, social and political condition of the tribals from very close quarters. No effective improvement is visible in the economic and social condition of the tribals. There is a lot of corruption in the developmental programmes meant for the tribals and there is nobody to check it.

Articles 14, 15, 16, 17 and 51, 335, 31A, 40, 41, 43, 43A, 44, 45, 46 and 48 should be rigorously implemented with a view to facilitating development, bringing harmony and ensuring economic development in the country. It will also help in keeping the unity of the country intact, protecting the culture, making the country strong and resourceful and restoring its prestigious place of world leader. Article 334 which provides that reservation of seats for the SCs and STs shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of ten years should be reviewed and the provision of reservation should be retained for future. Articles 370 and 371 which confer special status on some states should be abrogated so that all states enjoy equal Status, meaning thereby that no state should enjoy special status. I would suggest that if the provisions of the above articles are strictly followed, the country would emerge stronger and tribals, oppressed and backward classes would get opportunities for their upliftment.

I would also suggest that legal right to monitor the on-going developmental schemes in tribal belts of the country should be given to the representatives belonging to the tribals so that corruption is brought under check.

Further I would also suggest that the funds earmarked for the tribal areas should be spent in these areas alone and these funds should not be allowed to be diverted to any other head or place.

Sir, tribals and the people belonging to the dalits and backward classes are subjected to exploitation and atrocities in all fields. Hence, effective steps must be taken to check it. Effective measures should also be taken to improve the economic condition of these people collectively and individually.

Sir, being a son of the soil myself, I would like to say a few words at the end about the economic condition of the farmers. The condition of the farmers has become deplorable in the absence of a proper agricultural policy. The farmers are not getting reasonable price for their produces. I would request that the agricultural policy should be formulated in such a way that the farmers could get a remunerative price for their produce and their interests could be saved.

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA (Kanpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this Special Session that has been convened on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Year of our country's independence. I also thank you for having convened this session. I pay homage to all known and unknown freedom fighters, martyrs and patriots.

Sir, the polity that has developed, of late, comprises all vibrant elements of democracy such as awarkened masses, alert and enlightened journalists and free and impartial judiciary. I am of the firm conviction that as long as these organs of democracy continue to perform their duties, democracy will continue to develop. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, weak and fatal symptoms of democracy and Indian polity, such as, nepotism, dynastic rule, personality cult, red tapism, corruption, immorality, abatement to crimes, harbouring of criminals, casteism, class cult, linguistic divide, regionalism, communalism, treason, violence, misconduct, atrocities, terrorism, gap in practice and profession of political leaders, responsibility without accountability in the Government and the administration, exploitation and growing gulf between the rich and the poor etc. can also not be ignored.

Sir, this country was once known for it vast treasures of gold and jewels. That was the time when wealth used to flow into the country and not the *vice versa*. The people were so fearless that they never locked the doors of their houses for apprehension of theft. The people were honest. They did not evade taxes. The economic condition of farmers and workers was good. The ruler treated his subject like his own children.

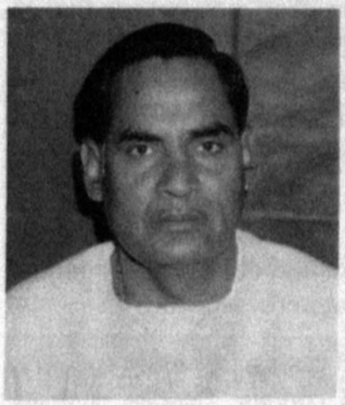
The officials were sincere and honest. Corrupt and dishonest officials were dealt with stringent punishment. But, Sir, what we find today is that the industries are in shambles. The work force is being retrenched. Mills are closed. Foreign companies are entering India unhindered and are dominating the economic horizon of the country.

The condition of farmers is worse. No positive steps are being taken to increase their production. No measures have been taken to provide quality seeds, adequate irrigational facilities, drinking water, approach roads, good markets, crop insurance facilities and compensation to the farmers. It seems that villages and poor farmers have been left to their fate.

Sir, the entire country is linked with the prosperity of agriculture and farmers. The villages and village labourer is fully connected with agriculture and farmers. If the plight of farmers improves, the condition of villages and labourers will improve. If village improve, the condition of the State and the country will also improve.

Sir, without knowledge and direction human and humanity is incomplete. Literacy cannot be called education. Education is that which increases knowledge and builds character. It teaches morality, makes man active gives inspiration and courage. There is total lack of such education in India.

There is no school in lakhs of villages and streets. As compared to population, the number of junior high schools, high schools, intermediate colleges and colleges is very less. Educational atmosphere is also absent. If we want the country make improvements and march ahead on the occasion of Golden Jubilee, we have to improve the condition of the poor. Jobs will have to be provided to each and everybody and water to every field. Due attention should be paid to metropolitan cities, the backward and less privileged colonies alongwith villages, towns and cities. Ancient historical and industrial trading cities like Kanpur should be given a faceleft. Science should be developed and the scientists should be honoured. Education should be expanded. Population should be checked. Conduct of politicians should be reformed. Differences between word and deed favouritism, red tapism, shirking duty and indulgence in scams should be eliminated. Security of the border and security of the life and property of common man should be ensured. Terrorism and mafia raj should be eliminated. Then only convening this Session will prove meaningful.



SHRI ASHOK SHARMA

SHRI ASHOK SHARMA (Rajnandgaon) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I put my views in the following lines in the special Session of the House on the occasion of the 50th year of country's Independence. Despite my best effort to speak, I am tabling my written speech. I am thankful to you for accepting it.

Sir, the Special Session of the House convened by the hon. Speaker is definitely a commendable step. Leaders and hon. Members belonging to all political parties putforth their views from 26.8.1997 to 1.9.1997 on the resolution brought forward by the leader of opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee for discussion in the House. All the speakers is laid stress on certain points to lead the country ahead. In my view though the country has achieved success in certain fields, it has been lagging much behind in the economic field during these 50 years of Independence. The number of people living in villages is higher. My Parliamentary constituency also consists of mostly rural areas and forests. Even after 50 years of Independence, basic facilities are not available in the villages today. There is still lack of drinking water, roads, educational facilities for children and dispensaries for treatment of patients in the villages. Since no attention was paid to these basic facilities in the villages, villagers continued to remain hungry and thirsty when we talk of prosperity of the country before them, they consider it meaningless because of their plights. Planning should be done to provide the above basic amenities in the villages.

India is called primarily an agricultural country. But today the farmers continue to experience want of irrigational facilities, fertilisers and seeds. In my Parliamentary constituency Rajnandgaon in Madhya Pradesh irrigational facilities are available to 13 per cent of land only. If the rain God is pleased agriculture yield becomes productive,

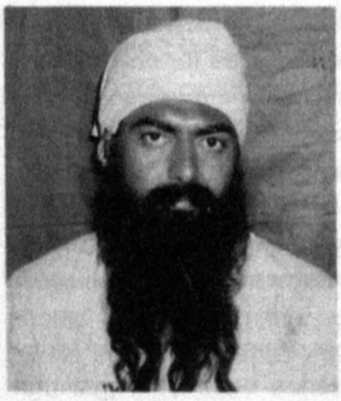
otherwise the area experiences drought. Due to denudation of forests every year one or the other area falls under the grip of drought. It is necessary to make agriculture self-dependent to avoid the above situation. All the major irrigation projects should be complete and a portion of income should be earmarked for this purpose.

There was a mention of corruption. I do not say that all are corrupt and dishonest. But the picture that has emerged before the public for last few year has put everybody in an embarassing position. There should be transparency in the work of political leaders, officers occupying high offices. We Indians should make a resolve to eliminate corruption. We should ensure that our conduct and behaviour is good and there is transparency in our word and deed so as to regain the confidence of people.

People belonging to different castes, faiths and speaking different languages live in this country. Despite diversity there is unity in the country. But the politics of vote has shattered this unity and due to this the society seems to be divided. There is a need to check this. India is an integrated country. It is the duty of different parties and political leaders to prove it.

Everybody knows that crime has entered in politics also. This has polluted politics and defamed politicians. There should be a strong protest against entry of criminals in politics. The Election Commission has made some rules for this. All the parties should strictly follow these rules. Its impact will prove congenial to the progress of the country.

Finally I shall speak about the welfare of youth. Today lakhs of youth in the country are jobless. They should be provided jobs without which youth is becoming directionless. A concrete decision should be taken in this regard. Alongwith this, I demand work for everyhand, water for each field and an India devoid of corruption. I thank you for giving me a chance to lay my speech on the table.



SHRI PRAHLAD SINGH

SHRI PRAHLAD SINGH (Seoni) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this effort on your part in the golden jubilee year of our independence is commendable indeed. The question about the working of democracy during the last 50 years automatically leads us to introspection. A proper and adequate remedy and solution to it is possible only through introspection.

It really needs consideration as to where have we landed ourselves despite the direct or indirect contribution made by the country's great contemplators, thinkers and men of action. It is not a time for criticism. Such a general opinion is a moral and pious concept of this holy and glorious golden jubilee. I would, therefore, make a request not to treat as criticism this effort made to explain the complexities born out of the past lacunae and the presentation of erroneous concepts of priorities.

Undoubtedly the country has many successes to its credit. But what type of successes are they? What are the criteria of categorising them is successes? What is important is as to what are the past and future time limits set to ensure successes.

My respected Shri Baba Sri had asked me a question, *i.e.*—

What is the irrefutable principle for changing an era? It is Fundamental changes or rectification of mistakes?

I was stunned and kept quiet for quite some time. Then smilingly he said that this priority is not proper. The reply cannot be one of these two. The reply will be both fundamental changes and rectification of mistakes.

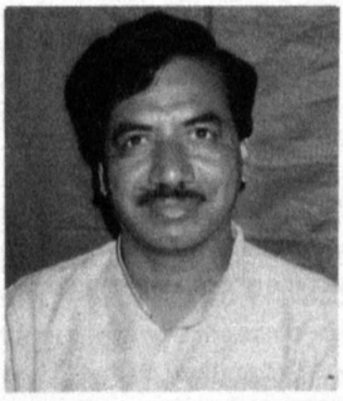
Sir, I recall that during the early decades of independence we started making some efforts after accepting the directive principles on fundamental changes, we also held discussions, but soon after that due to our intellectual luxury we were confused enough to change our priorities and started seeking remedies. Therein lay our mistake. We not only allowed the basic element of limiting one's needs and wishes to lapse, but the leadership contributed in bringing the idea of Aparigraha (possessionless) to an end. We have erred in trying to create an atmosphere suitable for the development of individualistic thinking by attaching greater importance to fulfilment of one's personal desires and by dispensing with the idea of public good. That is just an example. As regards rectification of mistakes, we only talk of it, express our view on it and in some cases we even cross our limits and go to the extent of terming the expression of the idea of rectification of mistakes as obscurantism and try to silence it. All our efforts and priorities have been reduced to an approach to immediate problems and to personal losses and gains. What I mean is not just 'individual' but 'institution' of the former is a unit. At least if efforts for permanent

rectification of mistakes had been made, then perhaps we might have arrived at some permanent solutions. But what we tend to do is to commit new mistakes in our effort to rectify old ones with the result that now we find ourselves amidst a quagmire of confusions galore. It is perhaps to get out of this quagmire that we have now talked of starting a struggle for our second independence.

Sir, reason is the force behind confusion as had been told to me by my adorable one Shri Babashri, and that reason is born out of intellect. That being so, how can we get out of confusion while we all are thinking at the level of intellect. I am not a critic of intellectuals but I do keep in mind that thought—provoking sentence which says—intellect leads to confusion while knowledge makes one neutral and objective. That is to say I do feel the necessity of bridging the gulf between intellect and knowledge so that the starting of the struggle for our second independence may achieve the target of changing an era.

My late friend had written to me in a letter, I do not remember who that contemplator was, that when needs of individual/society are only half-fulfilled, its difficulties increase two-fold.

Somewhere or the other in our working system and five year plans we must keep this farsighted warning. When we keep that in mind, perhaps our successes will cease to satisfy us. Success consists in attaining the highest state. Our good wishes are that we may not rest content just by fulfilling our tasks but by consummating them.



DR. SATYANARAYAN JATIYA

DR. SATYANARAYAN JATIYA (Ujjain) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the occassion of the Golden Jubilee of our independence, I extend my heartiest welcome to all of the Members of this House.

The country has witnessed many ups and downs during the last 50 years since our independence. During these years we have scaled many dimensions of development and achievements and have certainly made some significant progress but that destination remains yet to be reached from where benefit of freedom percolates down to the last man, the poorest of the poor, in our society. Measures have been taken to bring in social, political and economic changes and to remove social, political and economic backwardness from our society. But, so far, we have not succeeded fully in this endeavour. We are still a poverty ridden society. Politics is still without democratic ideals. Apart from this, special efforts are required to be made to scale the new cultural heights.

The picture of today's India does not represent its true face. The political changes have failed to change the definition of India. Its pre-independence face has not changed at all. Still our country is known not by the name of *'Bharat'* but by the name of India in the whole world. Therefore, we have to launch one more freedom struggle to change the name of our country from 'India' to *'Bharat'*. The meaning of our freedom will not be complete unless and until it is associated fully with Swadeshi, self-reliance and self-respect. We have to get rid of all these things which hinder the country from marching towards its own identity. We have yet to achieve the target of providing Hindi the status of our national language and we have to earn honour for our mother tongue.

Even today our national language Hindi has not assumed any importance in the top civil services and we are not free to express our views in our own mother tongue. It is, therefore, necessary to remove such hurdles in order to make India really a fully sovereign state and we have to make our independence meaningful by adopting our own indigenous measures. We have to evolve Swadeshi systems for our development, for our national growth which is not possible by foreignisms and systems of development. We have to recognise our own fundamental philosophy which is based on the conventions of the country.

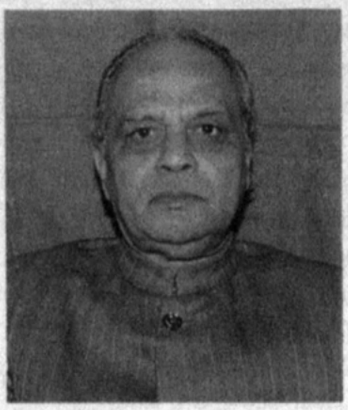
Our philosophy should be to unite individual with the society. We must have an integrated form of society. We have to work for connecting our social, economic, political and cultural traditions with one another in order to bring in development in our society thus earning self-respect for the country. We have to maintain our cultural heritage as well. We want to see the entire humankind tied in one thread which is possible only by creating love, affection and sentiment among them. Therefore, let us join hands and march ahead towards this goal. We want to regain the cultural pride of our country in order to bring harmony and peace in our society in which people will have an opportunity

for their all-round development. We have to work hard for occupying a dignified and respectful place in the world.

We have to pay our special attention towards meeting the basic needs of the people in the country. We have to evolve more and more devices for the prosperity of our villages, poor people and farmers. We have to liberate the hard working people from economic distress. Dignity of labour is required to be established.

We have to do away with the disappointment and frustration prevailing among our youths and create job opportunities for them. Our main target after independence has been to provide food, clothing and shelter to everyone so that everybody can lead a respectful life. I want to express my feelings through the following lines:—

"Azadi Ke Pachas Saal
Bane Hamara Desh Khushal
Ghar-Ghar Men Khushhali Aye
Samridhi Ke Deep Jalayen
Pragati Path Par Chalte Chalte
Hamne Jitne Kuch Paya Hai
Uska Hissa Sabko Barabar
Abtak Nahi Mil Paya Hai
Sath Jutkar Sabko
Aage Badhte Jana Hai
Chalte Chalte Saath Mein Hamko
Nai Manjile Pana Hai
Bacha Hai jo Kuch Karne Ko
In Azadi Ke Salon Main
Bharpai Karna Hai Usaki
Samarth Desh Benane Ko
Kam Bharat Karne Hain Hamko
Sabka Hit Sadhan Karna Hai
Khushhali Ke Sab Rang Ko
Nakshe Azadi Mein Bharna Hai
Karne Sarthak Swatantrata Ko
Swarn Jayanti Parva Manayen
Bharat Bharti Vijay Dhawja Ko
Vishwa Gagan Mein Fahrayen."



SHRI M. KAMALUDDIN AHMED

[English]

SHRI M. KAMALUDDIN AHMED (Hanamkonda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I congratulate you for holding this Special Session on the 50th Year of our Independence.

In a nation's history, a span of 50 years is not a big period but for a nation and country like ours which had so many problems all these years, it is a great achievement to protect and preserve our democracy. Our Constitution, which is an ideal Constitution, has survived all the vissitudes and complex problems. On the basis of all the good and bad experiences, I think we have to take stock of the state of democracy. The initial chapters of the Constitution have dealt with the citizens rights, privileges and duties. Articles 14, 15 and 16 deal with the equality of all citizens before the law, prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or place of birth and equality of opportunity in matter of public employment. Articles 21 and 22 deal with regard to the protection of life and personal liberty and protection against arrest and detention. We have to see whether these rights bestowed upon the citizen have been protected and respected. If there is a violation, what is the remedy?

Over the last two decades, there is glaring infringement and violation of the guarantees given to the citizens. The remedy provided by the judiciary is expensive and inadequate. The situation becomes worse when the violation is by the State Government's machinery itself which is duty bound to protect the liberties.

The instant case is that of infringement of Articles 21 and 22. The large number of custodial deaths and deaths in so called encounters in Andhra Pradesh. The People's War Group (P.W.G.) which is spearheading a movement against the atrocities and highhandedness of the Police in Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh has been the main target.

The PWG's activities have the public sympathy and support and for that reason in a short period, it influence has spread over the entire Telangana region. The Police

picks up young boys from the villages as PWG sympathisers and supporters and instead of registering cases or producing them before Magistrates, kill the boys and release the news that they were killed in the encounter with the Police. I raised this matter in the Parliament also earlier but the State Government did not pay any heed. Now the situation has gone totally out of control. My submission here is, what is the remedy for the poor parent, who are losing their children like this. Even if the parents are advised to go to the Court for Habeas Corpus Writ, the boys are killed before the parents reach the Courts. No action is taken against the culprit police officers. This is how a situation has arisen and it is for us in Parliament to think of finding ways to provide early and quick remedy if there is any violation of the Fundamental Rights given by the Constitution.

The other matter which I wish to draw your attention, Sir, is the need for entire reappraisal of the Plan process and the role of Planning Commission and State Governments. We have come to a stage of 9th Five Year Plan and every year a yearly plan has been drawn. Two questions arise as to whether the yearly Plan has been scrupulously implemented by the State and the money given by the Central Government is utilised in the manner it is directed. The other question is whether the present system of planning has given the desired results and specially in rural sector and for eradication of poverty.

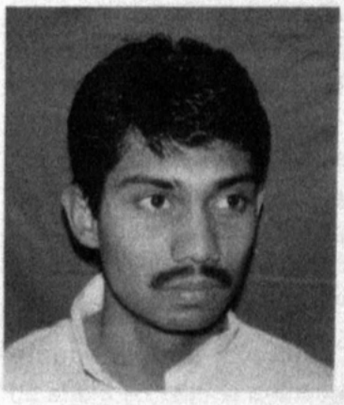
My submission is that in both the above matters, we have not been able to achieve success. There is no monitoring agency to look into the proper implementation of the plan schemes and the expenditure on those schemes. There is total mis-administration of the Rural Development Schemes in our State of Andhra Pradesh. The State Government is totally biased and partial and the beneficiaries of the schemes are chosen on the basis of political loyalty to Telugu Desham Party.

If we look into the overall development of the State targetted in the 8th Plans, I am sorry to say that the said Plans have only created backward spots, the poor region had become more poor and backward and the forward region further forward. I mean and specifically mention Telangana and Andhra regions of Andhra Pradesh. The backward Telangana region has been pushed miserably behind the already forward region Andhra. The unemployment and poverty has reached its climax. It is for this reason the Demand for a separate State of Telangana has started. A similar demand was politically raised thirty years back but– as Member of Assembly I was opposed to that Demand at that time.

The present demand is entirely different from the earlier demand and it is now based on economic reasons. It is in order to come out of the exploitation by the forward region of Andhra and for rapid development, that separate State for the Districts Telangana is a necessity and this demand is backed and supported by the entire people of Telangana. I submit that this demand is justified and has to be conceded. When smaller States like Haryana, Punjab etc. can survive and thrive, why not Telangana with a bigger area and bigger population. The last States' Reorganization Commission headed by Justice Fazal Ali in 1955-56 had in fact recommended a Statehood for Telangana for both economical and political reasons. I submit through you, Sir, that the Govt. must act rapidly for giving us the Statehood.

At the end I submit that we have to think ways and means to strengthen our Parliamentary democracy which is in a peril as the multiplicity and emergence of the smaller regional parties is a great threat now. It is for the third consecutive term the people have chosen a hung Parliament which is not a healthy sign. We must remove the peoples disillusionment and frustration. It is for the national level Parties to give a serious thought and realise their own shortcomings and lapses which has created the present situation. We must also congratulate our people who have preserved our democracy inspite of number of problems like the economic backwardness, over-population, three wars thrust upon us by our neighbours. I very earnestly appeal that the Government must take stringent measures to enforce the pattern of one child family and strong implementation of Family Planning Programmes.

I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.



SHRI NIHAL CHAND CHAUHAN

[Translation]

SHRI NIHAL CHAND CHAUHAN (Sriganganagar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, even after 50 years of Independence, the citizens of India are leading a life like slaves. 50 per cent people of India do not have food to eat, clothes to wear and house to live in. I thank you for convening a Special Session on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Special Session has been called for the first time after

Independence and the main objective of this is to eradicate corruption.

Sir, corruption cannot be removed by convening Session and making speeches here. There is need to do something and create a new system. This is the apex body of India. Today the whole world is witnessing the pitiable condition of India which was once known as golden sparrow. We have to bring reforms for the development of India.

Sir, when the Constitution was framed it was decided that 16 per cent of the general budget has to be spent on irrigation. Still there is a large area of land for which irrigation facilities have to be provided. The budget allocation for irrigation even after 50 years of Independence is 16 per cent and it should be increased because we have to provide irrigation facilities for more and more land.

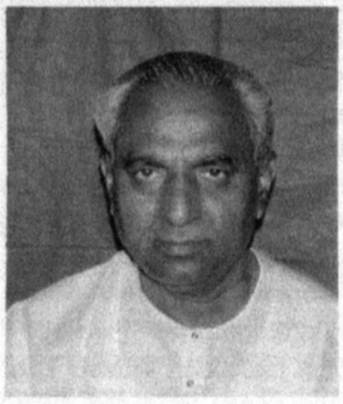
Sir, through you, I would like to make a suggestion that attention should be paid towards the standard of education in the country. A large number of villages still lack primary schools. In some villages there is no school building and at some places teachers are not there. In the modern era teachers do not teach students. How our country can make progress if children do not get proper education?

Even today the children of poor people are facing many problems in getting education. Even today about 38 per cent children are illiterate in India. In 1991 the number of illiterate people was 20 crores. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the country can make progress only when the future generation of India will get proper education. How can we expect India to make progress without the development of future generation?

Sir, I would also like to draw your attention towards the ever increasing population of the country. Measures should be taken to solve this problem.

Sir, I would like to make a suggestion that schools should be set up in every villages and adequate arrangements for building and teachers should be made so that children could get proper education. Today obscene films and scenes are shown on television which adversely affect the children. This should be stopped. I would also make a request to you that when the traders themselves fix the rates of their goods then why not farmers. Farmers work hard in winter and summer even then they could not get remunerative price for their produce. The traders decide the rate of their produce. Through this House I make suggestion that farmers should be given remunerative prices.

Sir, I would like to make another suggestion that unemployed persons should be provided unemployment allowance and exemption should be given in fares while going to take examination or interview for seeking job. I will not take much time. All the Members have given their suggestions. In the end I would like to say that unemployed persons should be given employment to ensure progress of the country.



SHRI KALLAPPA AWADE

SHRI KALLAPPA AWADE (Ichalkaranji): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are celebrating Golden Jubilee of the Independence of India and I thank you for convening a Special Session at this juncture and to allow me to express my views here.

I pay my tribute to all those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the country.

At the time of Independence the population of our country was 35 crore. Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had raised a slogan that food, clothing, education and shelter would be provided to everyone. Efforts were made through Five Years Plans for the development and progress of the country. They tried to lead the country towards the path of progress and in view of the increasing population, several schemes for providing power, water, raising production of agriculture and industrialisation were formulated. Several rural development schemes were formulated and socialist system was adopted for progress of the country. Public Sector undertakings were encouraged in this country.

Industrialisation has been promoted through Public Sector and cooperative sector in this country but problems of poverty and unemployment could not be solved. Shrimati Indira Gandhi had raised a slogan regarding poverty alleviation and through nationalised banks arrangements were made to provide employment to unemployed persons. On the occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence, I

draw your attention towards textile industry and cooperative sector.

As you know, the textile industry in our country is very old industry. It is the second largest industry after agriculture. But several problems have risen after its nationalisation.

Once upon a time 'muslin' cloth of Dhaka and several peculiar designs on handloom clothes were also famous.

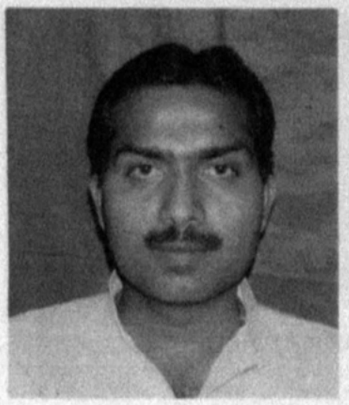
In view of the increasing population of the country the demand of cloth is increasing. Due to the problems of mill sector and limitations of handloom cloth, Ashok Mehta Committee encouraged powerloom sector. At present 14 lakh powerlooms are functioning in the country, which produce almost 70 per cent of the total production. Besides taking care of the requirement of clothes for increasing population of the nation, crores of rupees are being earned by exporting powerloom clothes and garments.

However, it is unfortunate that even after 50 years of Independence, due attention has not been paid towards the problems of powerloom industry.

I raise a demand for making provision in the budget for providing working capital for modernisation of powerloom sector in the same way as is made for handloom industry mill sector.

Similarly, co-operative sector is being promoted in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and this sector is being promoted especially in Maharashtra through sugar factory, spinning and milk co-operative societies. All the same the important decision regarding providing employment to the unemployed was taken by S/Shri Yashwant Rao Chawan, Vasant Rao Dada Patil, Vasant Rao Naik and our Hon'ble leader Shri Sharad Pawar which changed the entire face of Maharashtra.

Many problems are being faced in the case of institutions being run under the co-operative sector. The due attention and co-operation that should have been given by the Government of Maharashtra for solving these problems is missing. Hence, I humbly request that the Central Government should extend its full co-operation for promoting the co-operative sector which has helped in providing employment and developing the State of Maharashtra. With these words, I conclude my speech and thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



SHRI VIDYASAGAR SONKER

SHRI VIDYASAGAR SONKER (Saidpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to thank you for having convened this special session at the historic occasion of golden jubilee of independence.

Sir, though we have made a lot of progress in these fifty years of independence, still progress has not been made upto the desired level in these last fifty years. This statement is given by the Government that drinking water has not been provided in all the villages, which is a sorry state of affairs. We will have to consider as to which path should be followed so as to make the country prosperous and provide food to the hungry, water to the thirsty and clothes to the poor. My country is prosperous in terms of availability of resources. Everything is available in my country but the corruption, casteism, regionalism, communalism and policies of exploitation are hindering the path of progress.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, so long as exploitation is not removed from our country, our country can not become prosperous.

Today the poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming more rich. In other words, it can be said that "some are dying of overeating and some are dying of starvation".

This is the time to ponder over the conduct to be followed so that democracy is protected. Today democracy is facing the rough weather whereas Executive is ruling the roost. We formulate schemes for the welfare of the people but these schemes are not being implemented as a result of which the people are not being benefited.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wanted to raise many more points, however, due to paucity of time, I am concluding my speech with the poem written by Hon'ble Atal Ji:

"Pandrah din ka agast kahatra azaadi adhoori hai

Sapne sach hone ko baaki hain raavi ki shapath na poori hai

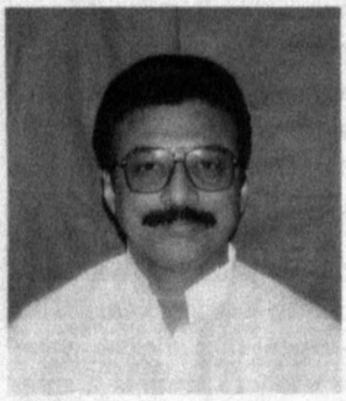
Din door nahin khandit bharat ko puneih akhand banayenge

Gilgit se gaaron parvat tak aazadi parv manayenge

Us swarn divas ke liye aaj se kamar kasen balidan karai

Jo paaya usme kho na jaayen jo khoya uska dhyaan karen"

In the end, I would request the House to take some such steps so that our country regains its earlier status of being the most prosperous nation in the world.



SHRI SAI PRATHAP ANNAYYAGARI

[English]

SHRI SAI PRATHAP ANNAYYAGARI (Rajampet): Mr. Speaker, Sir, At the outset I thank you for taking the initiative of organising this special Session of this House to commemorate the fifty years of our Independence. He has taken a novel step in bringing out a draft paper and background material which immensely helped the Members in their speeches. Different subjects have been selected for discussion on this occasion.

Initially let me offer my respectful regards and tributes to the great leaders of the nation who fought for our Independence and won freedom for us. They laid down their lives for the cause of our Independence. They sacrificed their entire life for this cause. I respect the views expressed by many of our senior leaders who helped in strengthening our country. That united culture as taught by our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and other great leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Maulana Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and others is guiding the nation.

Sir, I do not want to go into the details. I would like to express some simple views in this regard. We are to carefully maintain the legacy given to us by the great leaders. We have to set our standards for the future generations to follow. We can protect the monuments and edifices given to us as legacy by our forefathers by emulating the principles and guidelines laid down by our seniors and we should follow them with all sincerity and honestly.

Every year we pass the Annual Budget of the country in this House. We allot funds to the State Governments as required for improvement to the State sector. Different sections at the State level are involved in the developmental activities. The maximum percentage of the funds that go from here are misused. We usually discuss the same here but we fail to take rectifying measures. The funds allotted for one scheme are misused by States for other purposes. The funds allotted for projects like irrigation, health and other sectors and for education and other important sectors are not being used for the particular purpose. There are instances where even funds given for widow pensioners and other persons are misused.

The first and foremost thing to be done by us is that we should be very careful in our political life. We should be exemplary in leading an honest and disciplined life. We should do our efforts to set an example of public life. Then only the Executive and other bodies will follow and emulate our example. Then only we can make our nation stronger.

I submit that the Government should give more importance to the farmer community in our country. Agriculture constitutes seventy per cent of the workforce in the country. It is the backbone of the country. They are suffering now. The agricultural community is suffering for want of electricity, drinking water etc. We should provide better facilities to the agricultural sector. There are many such countless villages in the country where the basic facilities are not available. They have to walk for miles together to reach the roads and nearest bus stops. They have to travel for kilometres together to get their basic needs of life.

Our country is rich enough to tackle all these problems. The thing required is a will among ourselves. Without such a will it will not be done. We are now discussing different issues concerning the past fifty years and also concerning the future fifty years and more. The millenia is coming to an end and the 21st century is not far off. We should provide better facilities to our people in the country in this new century. The poorest of the poor, the downtrodden and the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people should be given better facilities to come up in life.

All the Members of this House should take a vow here to do their best for the upliftment of these people. We should give top priority and importance to this sector. Then only

our country can go ahead and prove to be a true nation which struggles for the people of the country. The minimum needs of the people should be fulfilled.

Mahatma Gandhi taught the culture to us to live in public life. He laid down the principles and guidelines. We should follow them. We know that our position is here to serve the people. We know how some political persons behave during the time of elections. The rigging, booth-capturing etc. are all the things which are blackspots in our life. People outside think of politicians in a bad way because of this. There should be no occasion for us to set such things as guidelines.

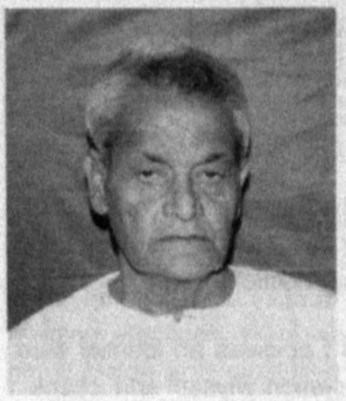
Our hon. Prime Minister has said the other day that corruption is eating into the vitals of our society. He felt regret that he has to sit by the side of some Members who are involved in various criminal cases. This is a serious thing to ponder over. We should give a serious thought to this. Corruption should be completely wiped out from the country. We should take a pledge for that purpose here and now.

I fully endorse the views expressed by the Prime Minister. I welcome his suggestion that we should do Satyagraha against the corrupt elements. At the same time, the communalism is taking a different route in this country. We should look into that aspect and see that communalism does not spread in the country. India is a secular country and we should be proud of our 5,000 year old heritage. We have a great amount of tolerance for other communities. Likewise, I strongly detest the casteism that is fast spreading in the country. We should rise above casteism and treat all castes together. That should be the guiding principle for us.

Finally I submit that our country has got a great image in the world when compared to other parts of the country. Ours is the second largest and the oldest democracy in the world. We should maintain that standard. We should protect the heritage given to us for the next generations. We should make all possible efforts in this regard.

I do take this pledge here that I will do my best in my political life, as I have been making all through, that I will strive for removing communalism and casteism and corruption in the country and I will serve the people of my constituency and the country in general to the best of my capability till the end.

I thank you for the opportunity given to me.



CAPT. JAI NARAYAN PRASAD NISHAD

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF NON-CONVENTIONAL ENERGY SOURCES (CAPT. JAI NARAYAN PRASAD NISHAD): Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to express my views before the House on the subject 'Fifty years of independence and democracy in India'.

Whenever people talk of social justice, social reforms or justice for the downtrodden, it means that the power of the exploiting class be reduced. Every such effort is likely to face stiff opposition from them. At present, if a candidate wants to win an election, then the support from this particular class is necessary. It is almost impossible to win an election without their support. While on the one hand this exploiting class rules the roost as social and religious organisations, on the other, it keeps the constitutional institutions and the media under its grip because of its strong economic base. Therefore, the foremost necessity is to reduce its strength for the sake of democracy. It is possible only when it is attacked from all sides. If it is attacked only from one side it shows its reaction by becoming active from other side. The basic principles of democracy is that people be made centre of all power. But the reality is that common man remains a silent spectator all through the elections and after that it becomes the victim of exploitation.

Democracy can only be saved if the people field their own candidates against these exploiting forces and see that they are elected.

It is a good omen that today the importance of voter is being recognised. Otherwise sometime back the voter was a mere spectator and although he keeps waiting as to which party, religion, community, class or person would come to power and exploit him. Nowadays the voter had atleast become aware of the meaning of elections but then it has not become able to play the role of taking final decision in elections. So, more efforts are needed to be made in this direction.

Now voter takes the identity card just as a cinema ticket. As a viewer enters the cinema hall after obtaining

the ticket but he does not have any say or control on the film or on the roles played by different characters. We should reveal the power hidden in identity card system as to how it should be used and how its misuse can be checked.

But it is still a question whether election malpractices can be checked through identity cards. I think double control and vigilance is required during elections.

Suppose I am a voter and I possess an identity card. But unless I visit the polling station myself and check I cannot ascertain whether my vote has been misused in booth capturing incident. How many voters would go and check it out when voters out of fear don't look towards polling centres. How can one hope that they would visit the polling station to see whether their vote have been cast?

Attention should be paid to another point. Suppose that my vote has been misused by booth capturing and suppose it could not be detected for various reasons, for example police force was not available at that time or the polling party sided with candidate. If booth capturing is done in this manner and the polling station is not declared ultra vires at this time of counting the votes, these votes will become constitutionally valid. Then it would become a mockery of democracy. So the whole election process should be strengthened to make it completely strong and for this there is a need to have control at both the places.

Therefore, it is necessary that vote and identity card both are connected. Only then both would become meaningful.

For this alongwith ballot-box, Identity Card-box should also be placed at the Polling booth. Alongwith the ballot, identity cards should be collected in the identity-card box. Both should be counted and compared and when it is found that the votes and the identity cards are same in number then only the votes of that polling booth should be included in the counting list.

Then only rigging and bogus polling can be checked. If a polling booth is captured once, the plunder as will have to go through a long process of collecting Identity Cards. Will it be that easy for them?

Objections may be raised about lengthy election procedure. Difficulties may arise and there may be problem in returning the identity-cards.

But if we really want to save the democracy? If so, then we have to adopt it. So long as every citizen of our country does not become educated and learn to cast vote like developed countries, we have to adopt such measures.

Honourable Vajpayeeji has also said that the Government should bear the elections expenditure. He has demanded an allocation of Rs. 500 crore for this purpose. But we should not ignore the other problems in this process. How the amount should be distributed among the candidates? Will the powerful bureaucracy not obstruct the proper distribution. The responsibility of distribution would be entrusted to the same administrative machinery which do not even provide relief to the poor, depressed and dalits when their houses are burnt or when there is mass killing. How justice would be done?

Even if we admit that everything will go well but how the amount would be distributed if one thousand candidates are there in the fray for one seat? Will the amount be given to the candidates of recognised political parties? What will be the position of the independent candidates? If the amount is not given to the Independent candidates, then it would be nothing but a mockery of the democracy. So, without selecting serious candidates, it is impossible to hold election on the Government expenditure.

There is a need to keep out the non-serious candidates from the elections so that election procedure can be made an important national programme. A law should be made to prosecute those candidates who do not obtain one per cent of the total votes in the elections. Six months rigorous imprisonment and penalty should be awarded to such candidates and their proposers. Because being non-serious candidates without any base, they waste the money and time and also misuse their constitutional rights.

So, elections on the Government expenditure are not only impossible but improper in the present circumstances because there is no guarantee that besides Government funds, party or the candidates, who participate in the elections would not raise funds from the rich people. Will these exploiting elements become civilized and will not put pressure on the selfish and greedy politicians to get their illegal works done?

Therefore, the main issue should be to emancipate the election process and political machinery from the pressure of the exploiters and selfish elements of the society. It is possible only when there is less expenditure on the elections and the election should take place in such manner as we celebrate the festivals. not only our social feeling are attached with the festivals, but we are spiritually attached with the festivals. These festivals are celebrated together as community effort in the society. Elections should also be a community effort. But today we have reached a stage where election is not only the game of money power but today it is dominated by the underworld people.

Perhaps that is why the honourable election Commissioner Shri G.V.G. Krishnamurthy recently made some suggestions to curb crime in elections. We should welcome all such efforts. But one thing should be kept in mind that such efforts should not be efforts which separate the people suffering from wants, the downtrodden the backward, the socially, economically, politically and religiously oppressed communities from the entire national political activities.

Who is a criminal? The crime which has been proved or who though not a criminal but has been declared a criminal by the entire machinery. Here 'To declare' is very important. I have seen that F.I.Rs. have been registered even against those who had gone out of their States long back due to starvation on imaginary charges by Feudal powers who have full grip over police station of village. Are such people criminals? And if we accept Sri Krishnamurthy's statement these people will be deprived of the entire electoral process.

It is not necessary to be a criminal to prove some one a criminal, sometimes to name somebody as a criminal, it is enough to identify the community in which he is born. There are so many tribes which are, today considered as criminal tribes. Pardi community of Rajasthan is still being branded as a criminal community by Delhi Police. Similarly, earlier several castes were branded as criminal castes but fortunately several castes found favourable environment and today these are not only respected in Rajasthan but in the entire country also. Politicians, scientists industrialists, high officials of these castes are in no way, lagging behind other. On the other hand many people belonging to high society, in the National Capital of Delhi, have earned the respect of noble people by selling narcotics and indulging in scandals in business and possessing huge properties. Are they not criminals? How can they be deprive of the electoral process?

Yes, there is a system under which a person and who committed a crime and is pertaining to be innocent can be declared a criminal. This system is the inner system of the local society. When selection of candidate will be made independently by the local society such society will have the assessment capacity to test whether a person is a criminal or innocent. But this selection should not be based on caste, community, or religion. Had it been there, candidate of any community, caste or religion would have got himself elected from anywhere here is an example. How many downtrodden are declared elected from unreserved seats today. It is on finger tips. That's why I say decentralize the political powers and procedure. Adopt new electoral system. Let the society decide whom to field as a candidate and whom not.

This will help eliminate criminal elements from the electoral process automatically. Booth capturing will be stopped and eligible candidates will be able to make their entry in statutory institutions.

We will have to think how it will happen. I am expressing my views in this regard. It is not the view of a person who is far from politics. I am a politician and come here after winning elections. I am also not unaware of all political tricks inside and outside. I have seen bitterness and far reaching adverse effects. As such my suggestion is based on experience.

Each local society should select candidate and may resort to voting incase there is no unanimity. Decision on candidates who come from two societies, may be taken by local voting. Thus, finally the right candidate should be fielded for contesting the elections. In this way caste, class, community and religion will be of secondary importance. Outside pressure will be reduced and character of candidates will be tested. Of course, in this process religion power, caste power, money power and muscle power will not win and democracy is also based on these values.

Now the question arises as to how such a candidate will win the elections without money and facilities.

My suggestions are basically based on this aspect. If the candidate is thrust by outside decision, there will be no sense of participation in the society which wants to get its candidate elected on the basis of its own votes. Such candidates would require money power, muscle power etc. and in this election process local society remains a mute spectator.

If the candidate from the local society itself is in the election fray, it will be the responsibility of the society to see that its candidate is elected, funds are collected for the candidate and other arrangements for the elections are made. Then election will be a social function for them. Members of local executive will be responsible for door to door campaigning of the candidate. In this case work will also be carried without much expenses.

If the executive of local community comprise of 150 members, 10 houses could be assigned to each member who will spare time from their daily routine, and do campaigning work. Thus campaigning will be done in 1500 houses everyday. These members may select 500 such houses, for legislative assembly or Lok Sabha elections and collect Rs. 100.00 from each house. Thus Rs. 50,000 will be collected in each legislative assembly and the election expenditure including expenses as preparation of samples of ballot papers can be met from this amount. Since a

stage is to be created for public meetings, a mike can be installed a mini truck which can function as a mobile stage.

As no outside resources are required in this process, there will be no interference of any outsider or insider rich man before or after the election of the candidate.

These local workers will be able to make the voters understand the importance of identify cards in their election campaigning and by providing help elections may keep off booth capturing by helping the local administration with the co-operation of local populace.

Now, where is the need of big industrialists, musclemen, criminals or election on Government expenditure in this entire process?

What required is to assure participation of the society in elections, to form it the basic pillars of the elections and to undertake the decentralisation of the powers. Then only we will be able to strengthen the basic fundamentals of the democracy by means of reforms in the electoral process.

Freedom cannot be maintained without development. Human development cannot be confined to one direction or subject. If we talk only about the political freedom, that is incomplete without social and economic freedom. In this way these three are the important components of life. Freedom of these three components establishes peace in the society.

When we talk of peace in society, law and order position, the issue of development also becomes relevant. This question also becomes relevant as to whether the benefits of development should be restricted for same people, same areas or it should reach all the people. It is indeed unfortunate for our nation that electricity has not been provided to 80,000 villages even after 50 years of Independence. I believe that there are 18,000 such villages where conventional sources of energy cannot be made available either because it would be too much expensive or the particular area may be remote. I am not taking into account the villages, where electrification has been completed but power is not being supplied. If we add these villages to those 80,000 villages, the number of such villages, would cross one and a half lakh mark. Can we ever think of modernisation taking place in such villages? Can these villages be industrialised using modern technology or modern facilities can be provided for the people dwelling in such villages? Hence it becomes essential to consider energy as the first phase of development.

When we talk of development in the modern times, we include ourselves in the list of developing countries. But are we eligible even to be considered as a developing country? From per capita income point of view we rank lower than our neighbouring country, Pakistan. On the otherhand, we have instances of such countries as Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea which started on the path of progress and development almost at the same time when we stated but these countries have left us far behind.

This is also very unfortunate that despite having tremendous potential for generation of energy, we are unable to tap the same. I am not talking of large scale power plant but of the natural energy being made available to us by nature and which is not being fully utilised because big projects require a lot of land and many families are displaced, as a result of which many projects are not executed for example Koelkaro Project was started in the decade of 80's but it could not be completed till now. If we export the full capacity of wind energy, our achievements would have increased by one and a half times. If funds are made available then these projects can be implemented within one-two years. If we talk of wind energy. We have the capacity to generate 40,000 MW power.

Similarly, a small hydel power project can generate 10 thousand megawatt of power. These small projects can be completed within a short time and they will neither submerge fertile land or displace the people. If we properly use the available biomass, we can generate 17 thousand megawatt of power with and this process will not harm environment also. The vast potential of the Sea could also be exploited which could generate 50 thousand megawatt of power. There is unlimited potential of solar energy in our country. 35 megawatt per square kilometer from thermal power and 20 megawatt per square kilometer from photovoltaic could be generated. In addition to it we can set up one crore Twenty-lakh biogas plants and can manufacture 12 crore improved gas stoves. Here the question is to give priorities to local and small projects and not to oppose the big projects. If the funds are provided to the small projects on priority, the power shortage problem can be dealt with effectively.

We have a good track record of power generation from non-conventional energy sources. Wind energy is being used in our country. Our country stands at third place in the field of wind energy after America and Germany. We have achieved a target of 900 megawatt of power generation through wind energy and, it is required to be increased further. We have set a target of 2000 megawatt of additional power generation through wind energy in the Ninth Five Year plan. Our target was 1000 megawatt during the Eighth

Five Year Plan against which we achieved 860 megawatt of power generation. Likewise, our target was 3 megawatt of power of generation through solar photovoltaic system in the Eighth Five Year Plan against which we achieved more than 25 megawatt of power generation. In the field of biogas our target was to set up seven and a half lakh plants against which more than nine and a half lakh biogas plants have been set up. 132 lakh improved stoves were produced as against 116 lakh.

Besides these achievements, there are some areas where our achievements have not been so impressive. We could distribute about 2 lakh solar cookers as against the target of 3 lakh solar cookers. Our achievements in the distribution of solar cookers have not been so good because subsidy on solar cookers had been withdrawn during the last few years. Similarly, our achievements have been about 70 percent in the field of water heating system. As this system can be used in various ways, we have taken a decision to provide subsidy on it in this golden jubilee year. Under the Integrated Rural Energy Programme, we could implement this programme only in 408 blocks as against the target of 500 blocks. We have taken steps to make good the earlier shortage in this direction and 200 blocks are being covered under the Integrated Rural Energy Programme.

We want to give a new facelift to non-conventional energy sources in the Ninth Five Year Plan. As latent potentiality in non-conventional energy at all levels has come to be realised today, therefore, all are unanimous on this point that we should develop maximum alternative sources of energy. The Ministry of Non-conventional Energy Sources was constituted during the Prime Ministership of Hon'ble Shri P.V. Narsimha Rao. This shows his farsightedness and giving emphasis on promotion of non-conventional energy sources by Hon'ble Shri Rao in this special session too is indicative of his feelings towards this Ministry. He has given emphasis on maximum utilisation of wind and hydel energy while expressing his views. In the upper House, the Rajya Sabha, Hon. Shri Suresh Pachauri has given a suggestion to chalk out a national agenda on this count after the special session and he has also given a suggestion that the issue of development of alternative sources of energy should also be included in that.

The development of alternative sources of energy is necessary not only because these can be extended to remote areas but also because the conventional energy sources will not last beyond 30 years and we will have to depend on non-conventional energy sources afterwards. Therefore, I propose that the issue relating to development of alternative energy sources should be included in the minimum need programme and it should not only be included but it should be accorded top priority.

Hon. Members have time and again expressed their concern that the nation's development cannot take place so long as the sources of energy are not fully developed and mainly the energy requirements of rural areas are not met. But, for marching towards this goal, we will have to work collectively, breaking barriers of powers of various ministries. This year we have taken an initiative to establish coordination amongst various such ministries whose activities could be directly affected by our activities. These include ministries like Rural Development, Agriculture, Food Processing Industries, Health and Family Welfare, Welfare, Small Scale Industries, Human Resource Development, Environment and Forests, Tourism etc.

I also need active cooperation of the hon. members to speed up programmes of my own ministry. We want to make efforts with active cooperation the hon. members so that the benefits of the activities of the ministry of Non-conventional Energy Sources reach to the masses. I am even going to request all hon. members to make funds available from their M.P. quota to enable me to make non-conventional energy available to rural people in many villages even in a year only. I have given a sum of 50 lakh rupees for these programmes from my own quota. I am also considering about holding discussions in connection with programmes of my ministry with hon. members by visiting the capitals of the states.

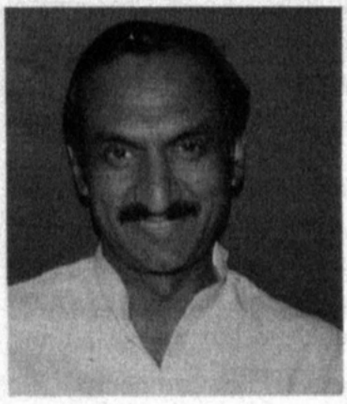
Hon. Prime Minister has also evinced his personal interest in the development of non-conventional energy sources. My ministry is continuously making efforts under his guidance so that the benefits of the non-conventional energy could be made available to maximum number of villages and people, which include augmenting employment avenues and bringing about improvement in the living standard of the rural masses.

My ministry has been making special efforts for the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes living in rural areas. It includes subsidy on solar lantern and taking action to set up maximum solar stove. But if we take up these programmes with the cooperation of the welfare ministry, we can accelerate the pace of these programmes. I have already discussed this matter with the Hon'ble Minister of Welfare earlier also and he has given an assurance that new measures would be taken to develop non-conventional resources of energy for these people.

I have also proposed that procedure should be simplified so that the benefits of programmes of non-conventional energy resources reach every village. I would even like to

simplify the name of the Ministry. Since rural people are unable to pronounce this name properly. This is natural source of energy. So my submission is that the Ministry should be named as Natural Energy Resources Ministry. A further discussion is being made in this regard.

My Ministry welcomes the suggestions of all those Hon'ble Members which are beneficial for the development of non-conventional energy resources. I hope that all the Hon'ble Members will unite to ensure the development of the basic infrastructure of the country.



SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL (Chandni Chowk-Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the 50th Anniversary of our Independence is being celebrated in the entire country with great enthusiasm. The achievements of the last 50 years are being assessed in the highest forum of this country also. We have won this independence after a great struggle. The leaders of that time took the right decision and stood against foreign rule. Lakhs of people laid their lives, went to jails and made a clarion call for crores of people to join the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Today we are remembering those freedom fighters whose sacrifices gave us independence. This country got freedom only when poor, workers and farmers of this country posed their faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and felt that one day they would definitely get freedom and after which they would also get food, clothing, shelter and employment in free India. They felt that in free India they would be able to formulate their own policies and programmes. That was why people from every walk of life made sacrifice without consideration of any caste, creed or religion.

Today we are living in free India. We are proud that during the last 50 years we have travelled a long distance. A period of 50 years is not a long period for any country. Even then we have made progress in every field. Jawahar Lal Nehru encouraged and promoted big industries and thus he generated employments for the people. He sent his message across the world and found a new way out in the form of 'Panchsheel' (Non-Aligned Nations) between two super powers which is now a great strength of the world. Lal Bahadur Shastri gave a call to farmers that now we would grow and eat our own foodgrain and consequently he brought 'Green Revolution' in the country. Indira Gandhi launched poverty Alleviation Programme and took effective steps in this regard. She promoted small scale industries and formulated new programmes for providing employment to the people. She nationalised the Banks, so that poor could get financial assistance to start his own work. She organised loan fairs and extended financial help to poor.

Through Non-Aligned Movement she strongly defended the interests of the developing countries of the whole world. After her, Rajiv Gandhi took effective steps to steer India into the 21st century. He emphasised the need to use computer in every field and encouraged telecommunications. He wanted to put India ahead of other countries in every field. Everybody welcomed his ideas. Narsimha Raoji introduced economic liberalisation and invited multinationals in India for the development of new technology and trade and commerce.

Today India is strong, we are economically competent. We have made a breakthrough in the field of Science. We are proud that we ourselves manufacture our fighter aircrafts. We have successfully launched our Satellites.

One of our countrymen has travelled in the space alongwith the scientists of other countries. We export foodgrains, but we have yet miles to go. Effective measures have to be taken for poverty alleviation so that poor and unemployed can be given employment. New policy and programmes have to be formulated to check population growth.

This country is ours and we are proud of her.

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur): Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, all the Members have accepted the fact that today corruption is rampant in every sphere of life. We have to check it in future. Today, people have strongly aversed

with the world 'Leader' and the word does not hold good among the people. We should believe in liberalisation and should make efforts to reduce inflation. We should learn to respect women.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for conducting the business of the House in a dignified way.

SWAMI SACHIDANAND SAKSHI

SWAMI SACHIDANAND SAKSHI (Farrukhabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Nation is celebrating the 50th anniversary of independence. It is a matter of great pleasure that more than 215 members of Parliament have expressed their considered views in the House and whole Nation heard the views of their leaders in this special Session of Parliament.

Sir, we all together fought for the freedom. The Nation has progressed a lot after the independence. But it is unfortunate that we could not built our national character even during these 50 years of independence and we all are responsible for it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the politicians could not portray their good image among the people during these 50 years. Because they are mainly responsible for the corruption prevailing in this Holy Nation. Our national proclamation is that: 'There is no thief, adulterer and drug addict in my country', but today.....

Sir, all the Members here have praised Mahatma Gandhiji and he deserve it. I also have a lot of respect for Gandhiji but we should not forget that.....

Lahoo Ke Bhav Se Kharidi Thi Humne Azadi,

Ahimsa Ki Phirouti Nahin Hai Desh Mera,

Chandra Jaanbaaj Ladakon Ka Hak Hai Is Dharti Par,

Kisi Ek Ke Baap Ki Bapauti Nahin Desh Mera.

Chandra Shekhar, Subhash, Bhagat, Bismil Ki Dharohar Hai,

Humein Inhin Ke Aadarshon Par Chal Kar Desh Mahan Banana Hai.

Sir, we have to do a lot yet. Reservation is being given to women. I am not against it. But it is also our duty to ensure that the oppressed, downtrodden and backward women should get the benefit of this reservation. Baba Saheb Bhimrao Abedkar was totally against the reservation but today reservation itself has become a matter of controversy. It is unfortunate for the nation. Sir, the political awareness amongst the dalits and the backwards have created unnecessary worries among some sections of the society and they are not taking it in a healthy manner.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, some people play politics on the basis of casteism, some on the basis of religion. We should have concern for the sovereignty of our country. It is our duty to work unitedly for building the nation.

Sir, 50th anniversary of our independence is being celebrated in Delhi. In this connection a national festival was being celebrated in the capital. I saw an old lady who was looking like a mad woman, shouting on the road, on the crazy people you are shouting slogans in the honour of Mother India, unfurling the tricolour and singing the National song. Do you know that I have lost my son in this crowd, have you seen him?" Nobody was paying attention to her, people were moving around. I felt pity on her. I went near to her. I said, "Mother, I am a poet, I have to pay for being sentimental. Even if no body else has time, I will definitely help you. What service I can do for you, tell me the appearance and name of your son. Perhaps I may find your son, the old lady exclaimed," Are you a poet? You have the same appearance as my lost son had. You will easily find him. You need not know his name and appearance. You know each other from a long time. Have you got it? The name of my lost son is Hindustan. People know him by the name of Bharat also. But the people could not recognise the Bharat Mata. If possible do try to find him. But, it is not necessary that he would be alive.

Sometimes, it seems that in this dark forest of democracy, hordes of wolves have swallowed my son or he might be crushed under the Impala of any dishonest minister or the history of Mahabharta may have repeated and this time my unarmed Abhimanu like son is killed not by seven but by the hundreds of great political warriers in the "Chakarvieuh" of Sansad. Don't run, don't fed up, please listen, my story does not end here. Misfortune has hit me again. My young daughter has been kidnapped by white collared gundas." I said, "Mother every young boy of this country is your son. You should not worry. Please let me know the daughter about whom you are talking." Sobbing Bharat Mata said, "Oh poet, have you forgotten my daughter on whose birthday, you had come to congratulate me. To cherish the memory of that happy moment, you have sung

so many songs. My daughter is none other than the beautiful dream Princess of martyrs. Now you must have understood that the name of my kidnapped daughter is freedom. Her holy glow, surpassed even the down and the fragrance of sacrifices emitted from her body. Chandrashekhar put Mehandi of his blood on her palms. Bhagat Singh gave her the Basanti Chuneri. Lokmanya Tilak gave her his blessings and Subhash Chandra Bose paid tributes to her by sitting at her feet. Yes, she is my same daughter who was kidnapped from the dark colony of politics when all the lamps of morality were blown off. The kidnappers were ruffians clad in Khaddar. I could not see their faces as they had veiled them with selfishness. They were drunk with the lure of power which was visible in their eyes. They locked my daughter in the dark underground room where she is a living corpse dying bit by bit like the dreams of the martyrs. Her modesty is continuously being outraged because the leaders mad with lust and power are raping the daughter (freedom) day and night.

Oh poet, if possible, convey my message to the youth of the country and make efforts to find my lost son and to get my daughter freed from the clutches of those brutes and if you are unable to do, then you have no right to go on shouting 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai', hoist the national flag and sing the national anthem unashamedly. You have no right to celebrate either the 15th August or the 26th January.

KUMARI SELJA

[English]

KUMARI SELJA (Sirsa): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the country is proudly celebrating the 50th anniversary of its independence. Our achievements in this period are enormous. If we just remember how diverse our country is, how different are the interests of the different ethnic and minority groups, people with different religion, language, caste, tribes and if we remember in addition to these the extremely unbalanced and disparate nature of the level of development of different regional and social groups of our population, even the worst critic of India will be forced to admit, as well as admire, the greatest achievement of our government, of keeping this country together within the framework of a functioning and thriving democracy. India has been governed over these 50 years most of the time by the Congress Party and I am proud to represent that party in this august House. We cannot even for a moment belittle the achievements of this country which has been led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi during this period.

During the colonial rule of the British, the growth rate in India was practically stagnant. In the first half of this century, it was not even one per cent a year. During the first 30 years of our planned development that growth rate increased to 3.5 per cent a year. This was less than our potential and less than many other developing countries particularly of South East and East Asia. But none of these countries faced problems we faced in India starting from a very low level of an initial development and continuous political conflicts which had to be resolved, because of the requirements of maintaining a democratic set up in such a diverse, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-caste, multi-interest group society. Three wars were inflicted upon us by hostile neighbours and continuous terrorist insurgencies were instigated by outside forces. We had to devote a very large portion of our resources to the maintenance of our defence forces, which could have otherwise been used for promoting development. We have received foreign aid from different countries of the world and we are grateful to them but in per capita terms, these amounts were negligible, far short of our requirements and much less than the amount of foreign capital inflows to these South East and East Asian countries. I mention this because it is often said that these South East and East Asian countries were like "tigers" that grew at a much faster rate during this period compared to the Indian "elephant". But these comparisons are totally unfounded. None of these countries faced problems that we faced and still we maintained our democracy, and the steady rate of growth and development.

Since the 1980s, after Mrs. Gandhi literally rose from the ashes and took over the reins of India from the quarrelsome an incompetent Janata Government, our country's record of growth performance made tremendous improvement. The reforms that Mrs. Gandhi introduced in our economy were further extended by Rajivji, giving a further boost to the Indian growth performance. As a result, in the 1980s, India's growth rate averaged at 5.6 to 5.8 per cent, clearly breaking away from the earlier trend of 3.5 per cent. Then in 1991 under the Congress Government of Narasimha Raoji we introduced radical economic reforms that changed the whole character of our economy. As a result we are now going at 6 and 6.5 a year and poised for more than 7 per cent growth during the Ninth Five Year Plan. These are our achievements and we are naturally proud of them.

But we must not overlook our shortcomings and ignore the areas and causes of our lack of success. To my mind, our greatest failure has been our inability to contain the growth of population. We must not forget that the total size of our population today is almost 1000 million which is about three times the size of the population at the time of our independence. If we divide any of our achievements by the size of our population, they look very small in per capita terms, whether it is national income, industrial production, agriculture output, social services or infrastructure facility. Controlling population growth is, of course, a stupendous task which calls for radical changes in our social developments, attitudes and values. It is difficult to hold the Government entirely responsible for this. Nevertheless, this is an area which must be tackled with all the forces that we can gather in the next few years.

We have also failed to make a very impressive gain in many of the areas of social development, associated with the Human Development Index, related to education, literacy, nutrition, primary health, child care and women's development. Much of these shortcomings is related to our population explosion because in absolute terms, these have often been quite impressive achievements. We still have 1/3 of our population below poverty line but we should not forget that in the 20 years since early 1970s more than 200 million people have been lifted above poverty line. We must keep this dimension of excess growth of population in mind in evaluating our performance regarding the increase in life expectancy, adult literacy rate, primary health care and children going to primary schools. We have, no doubt, miles to go in these areas and I do not want to sound it complacent with regard to any of these but we must be very careful not to ignore all these factors in making any evaluation.

Another area where our inadequacy can affect our future growth potential is that of infrastructure. No country in the world can develop without adequate availability of infrastructure services. We need power, energy, telecommunications, railways, surface transport, roads, ports, urban infrastructures, sewage, sanitation, water supply as well as minor and major irrigations for agriculture. All historical experiences of development underline clearly one fact: there has to be a substantial development infrastructure prior to and simultaneously with the growth of Gross Domestic Products of a country, whether in agriculture or industry or the service sector. I like to highlight these facts today because I believe that in formulating any policy of development by whichever Government the first call on our resources and energy must be for increasing the infrastructure services.

The level of our infrastructure services today is far below of what we need and what we must provide if we wish to achieve a reasonable rate of growth. There has been a very large increase in total investment in infrastructure from the 1980s onwards. At constant prices, the investment in infrastructure increased from Rs. 6,000 crore in 1980-81 to Rs. 12,000 crore in 1990-91 and further to Rs. 15,000 crore in 1994-95. The average level of infrastructure investment was about 4.8 to 5 per cent of GDP in the first half of the 1980s and it went up to about 5.6 per cent of GDP during the 7th Plan period and remained around that level in the 1990s. These performances are nearly comparable to several countries which are already developed, but they were grossly inadequate to compensate for the backlog in our country, or what we need to raise the level anywhere near adequacy to support the rates of growth of 7 to 8 per cent GDP that we hope to achieve in the next 5 to 10 years. According to the India Infrastructure Report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, the total infrastructure investment requirement in India would be Rs. 4,30,000 crore in the five years between 1996-97 and 2000-2001 and another Rs. 750,000 crore in the following five years 2001-2005. According to their realistic projections for different sectors, investment in power alone would require about 200,000 crore in the first five years and another Rs. 300,000 crore in the following 5 years. In the case of roads, the total investment required would be Rs. 24,000 crore between 1996-97 and 2000-2001 and another Rs. 44,000 crore between 2001 and 2006. Investment in the urban infrastructure would have to be of the order of Rs. 55,000 crore in the next five years and Rs. 150,000 crore in the following five years.

These sums are enormous. We have to find the money to finance these investments as an absolute requirement for our development. But where would we find them? It will be extremely difficult to find these resources from domestic savings. There are many claims on our savings and even if the rate of savings can be raised adequately they will not be enough to meet all these requirements. The same Expert Group projects that we would require at least Rs. 64,500 crore of foreign capital to finance infrastructure investment in the five years between 1996-97 and 2001 an another Rs. 1,12,500 crore of foreign capital in the next five years. If these figures are anywhere approximately correct, it should bring out clearly the need for making the substantial changes in our policies to be able to attract foreign investment of this scale.

Foreign investment and private investment can flow to the sectors which provide services that can be sold in the market or for which revenues can be raised from the users. We might considerably finance a large amount of investment

in the Power, Energy sector, or sectors of Telecommunication and Transport, Ports and even Highways. We need to change many of our policies there. We have to operate our State Electricity Boards with efficiency. We have to make users of power and energy to pay for their services. We have to convert many of our highways to tolerable roads with facilities for land developments by the sides of the roads. Our ports, our telecommunication system our transport sectors may have to be run much more commercially and efficiently to make them attractive outlets of investments for the foreigner and domestic investors. It is also to be considered that many of the irrigation facilities can be built up by different user group of farmers forming their cooperatives, may be with some help from public investment.

But what about the large areas where the users are too poor and too scattered to provide for the returns of the investment? Who will pay for water supply, sanitation, sewage or rural roads land reclamations, primary schools or health centers? These sectors are not only important for the country's development but are absolutely essential for any poverty eradication programme. Improvements in water supply and sanitation would make a large impact on the reduction of morbidity. Rural roads are essential for connecting the poor farmers and artisans to the markets. There is a very large part of our infrastructure services that will, therefore, have to be built by the Government through public investment and cannot be left to the private sector to supply on the basis of their potential return.

As a matter of fact, much of the infrastructure services is in the nature of what the Economists described as **"public goods"** that provide services that have enormous benefits for the users but where those services are difficult to sell at prices that captured that benefits. This is so even more in a developing country where many of the users may be poor to be able to afford the market price of those services. No doubt when the economy grows and the poor users expand their purchasing power and production potential through the use of these services can eventually pay for them. But until that stage comes, until the poor users become rich as a result of development, these services have to be provided by the Government through subsidies and public investment. If we leave these infrastructure services to be supplied and tallied entirely by the private sector whether from within the country or from foreign investors, there is a great danger that these infrastructure investments will not materialise at all. If they do not materialise, all our attempts for development will be frustrated. We cannot afford to do that at this stage for our development.

We must therefore plan for adequate public investment in our infrastructure services. In particular, the infrastructures that serve the poor have to be provided by the public sector for quite some time to come, however, much we change our approach to development and call for the play of market forces. This is one area where the public sector still will have to bear the responsibility for development. In the execution of the projects, of course, they can use the private sector services as much as possible. Wherever some of the activities can be parcelled out to the private investors, builders and operators, it should be done without hesitation. But the ultimate responsibility of coordinating the whole process of development will be with the Government. It does not have to mean that much has to be done by the Central Government. In fact, in many of the rural infrastructure, the responsibility of actual design and execution of the projects will have to be handed over to the local Government. Central Government could provide financial and technical support but in the field it is the local Government the Panchayats in the Districts, Blocks and the Villages that will have to be integrally involved to make these efforts a success.

SHRI T.R. BAALU

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS (SHRI T.R. BAALU): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to express my sincere thanks for providing me this great opportunity to address the Special Session of the Parliament to commemorate the 50th Year of Indian Independence. Today, this august House and the people of this great nation are looking back into the history of last 50 years of the liberated India, the long way we have passed through, the trials and tribulations the people of this country have suffered to uphold democracy and the democratic institutions, development of the infrastructure required for growth of the economy of this vast country, fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of the millions of poor, downtrodden and socially and educationally suppressed sections of the country.

On this occasion, I consider it as an honour and privilege to pay homage to the great leaders of this sub-continent who had sacrificed their life-time for liberating this nation, the Father of Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the great Tamil poet Subramania Bharathi,

the illustrious nationalist and freedom fighter V.O. Chidambaram, Subramania Siva, Tiruppur Kumaran who laid his life at his youthful age while protecting the tri-colour flag, Thillaiyadi Valliammai, Vanchinathan and so many other great leaders due to whose supreme sacrifice, the country was liberated. I would be failing in my duty if the priceless contributions of the great leaders like Periyar, Kamaraj and Rajaji are not recalled on this momentous occasion who have not only played a vital role in the freedom struggle but also in the building of the modern Indian society and the nation.

I feel proud in paying tributes to the Father of the Indian Constitution Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the genius who has provided us the foundation of the democratic and republican polity of this great nation which has withstood all the formidable tests and trials during the past 50 years.

In the last 50 years the country has made rapid strides in various fields like economy, education, rural development, science and technology, industry etc. The one important area of concern for the advancement of the individuals and for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden sections is eradication of illiteracy. When we are here at the 50th year of independence retrospecting what we have done during these 50 years, certainly we can be proud that we have made significant progress in providing education to the people. But, we have along way to go still and we have to re-dedicate ourselves to see that the country achieves complete literacy in the nearest future. Then only, we can say with real pride that we are a "Free People" and this country is a "Free Nation".

The great nationalist and humanist, the Tamil poet Subramania Bharathi told in Tamil that "Thani Oruvanukku Unavillaiyenil Jagathinai Azhithiduvom" which means "Let this world be destroyed if any single human being does not have food", so ferocious were his feelings at the condition of poverty of the poor people of India who could not have food to eat.

In the independent India, the Government has given utmost priority for poverty alleviation programmes and fighting the unemployment problem, and as a result of the successful implementation of various Five Year Plans, we have achieved commendable progress in alleviation of poverty and providing employment to the people. The right for employment is a fundamental right. Unless the people are gainfully employed, we will not be able to contain the cruelty of poverty on the one hand and exploit the potential of the vast human resources which is available in this country to ensure smooth development of economy and society, on the other. At this great hour, we should again reconfirm our commitments to the priority for eradication of poverty since still vast multitudes of the populace living in rural as well as urban areas are living below the poverty line.

This great sub-continent which is called India is indeed an integrated and inseparable nation of several sub-nations from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Guwahati to Gujarat with diverse areas and regions, like the different fingers of one and the same hand. Unity in diversity is the greatest hall mark of our polity.

Unless the prevailing economic imbalances are removed and even distribution of the resources and wealth of this country is ensured, we will be failing in our duty in strengthening the independence of this country. Apart from the regional imbalances and the sub-regional unevennes that still exists in the economy and infrastructure of the country, another area of great concern is the social imbalances. The social imbalances in terms of caste and creed were responsible for the suppression of the millions of poor and weaker sections of our society for centuries together. Today, we can say with pride that the political independence of the country has been responsible for giving social independence to the oppressed and neglected sections of the society.

The independent India has provided constitutional safeguards due to which positive discrimination in favour of the oppressed sections of the society has been made to enable them to come up in life. But yet, we have a long way to go to reach our destination where every Indian is equal in all respects in the society. Even after 50 years of independence, Dalits in this country have to struggle hard to reap the benefits of the independence. The great leaders like Periyar and Anna have spent their entire life-time to fight the social evils of caste-based discrimination and hatred.

In this context, I am reminded of the radical measure taken by the DMK Government headed by Dr. Kalaignar, my beloved leader, in 1973 when the Tamil Nadu Assembly enacted a legislation by which any Hindu individual irrespective of his caste could become a priest in temple. However, the bill was struck-down by the Supreme Court. I do not think that the Independent India has seen a more radical reform aimed at equality of human beings. We have to re-dedicate ourselves to the philosophy of these great leaders to ensure that social justice is rendered to one and all in the nearest future.

The DMK Government has always been the forerunner in fighting all in-equalities, whether it is social, political, communal, economical or gender based inequality. For the first time in the India, the DMK Government implemented

30 per cent reservation for women in Government services. Likewise, the Tamil Nadu Government under the leadership of Dr. Kalaignar was instrumental in implementing reservation of one-third seats for women in Panchayat Raj Institutions In keeping with our commitment to ensure the rights of women, the United Front Government has introduced 30 per cent reservation for women in allotment of petroleum products distribution agencies. Spinsters and widows, above 40 years of age, are given special financial assistance to set up these agencies.

The Golden Jubilee Celebrations of Independent India are indeed recorded in the history of this Nation is golden letters because a true federal Government is now at the helm of affairs. Our Constitution has envisaged a federal polity which has been realised now at the 50th year of Independence. Our federal structure has to be not only preserved, and protected but also promoted, to strengthen the roots of freedom, because the roots of the freedom plant were nurtured not with water but with tears of thousands of great leaders who laid their precious lives in the freedom struggle. The federal spirit of Indian polity could be sustained only by empowerment of the people and the democratic institutions. This is possible only through greater devolution of powers and greater autonomy to States. In the past, the DMK was branded for a while as a secessionist movement, when they were only aiming at a broadbased federal set-up which could never be construed as anathema to our Constitution. It was misunderstood to be an anti-nationalist tendency. However the whole world knows that DMK was second to none in proving its commitment to patriotism. At this juncture, I would like to refer to the thought-provoking book "State Autonomy" penned by Thiru Murasoli Maran, DMK Parliamentary Party Leader, which is an eye-opener to the need for autonomy. During the Indo-Pak war of 1971, the DMK Government under the Stewardship of Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi contributed in a very big measure to collect donations to the National Defence Fund and the contributions of Tamil Nadu Government was the highest of all the States.

My party, the DMK and the founder leader of my party, Anna, have always stood for greater autonomy for States. This is the most opportune moment for this august House to take a critical review of the Article 356 of the Constitution of India which is not in consonance with the spirit of democracy, federalism and autonomy.

Such a critical review, I am sure, will prove that this provision merits repeal, in accordance with the considered and consistent stand of DMK. Only with the adequate empowerment of people, only with autonomy of the federal states it will be possible to attain the dreams of the Independent India.

With these words, I once again thank you for giving me this momentous opportunity.

SHRIMATI USHA MEENA

[Translation]

SHRIMATI USHA MEENA (Sawai Madhopur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, India is celebrating her 50th anniversary of its independence. By calling Special Session on this occasion, you have done a commendable job. I am happy and feeling proud on getting this momentous opportunity to speak in this special session.

I pay my tributes to those known and unknown martyrs and freedom fighters who fought for the freedom of the country.

We have a very old history and we should feel proud of it but in this special session, we will discuss our achievements as well as our failures during the last 50 years of our independence. I want to express my views on some of these issues.

At the time of independence we are not self-sufficient in the production of foodgrains also. Today, after 50 years of independence, we can export foodgrains inspite of the fact that our population has increased three times.

At the time of achieving independence we were not able to make even a small pin in our country but today, we have the capacity to manufacture even missiles in our country.

We have made a good progress in the fields of education and medicines, however our ratio of education especially women education ratio is very low in comparison to other countries of the world.

This situation should be improved. The main impediments in it are uncontrolled increase in population, women's illiteracy and not providing them their appropriate place in the society.

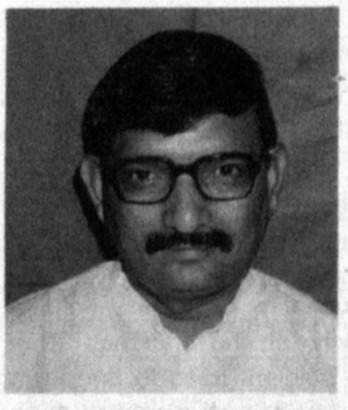
Women have equal rights with men but only on Papers. Everybody knows what is the reality behind it. This House is also delaying the Bill regarding the reservation of women in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha by hook or by crook.

Gandhiji had visualised a dream of social and economic upliftment of weaker sections of society. Good efforts have been made by the Government in this direction. But there has not been much improvement in the condition of SCs and STs. They are still facing the curse of untouchability and financial hardships even after fifty years of independence. Comprehensive steps have been taken for the welfare of tribals after Independence. A huge amount has also been spent. But the extent to which we have achieved success in this field, you all are well aware about that.

In view of the problems of rural development, our late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi had provided for administrative and financial powers to the Panchayati Raj institutions by making amendments in the constitution in order to strengthen them at village level. Despise clear-cut directions from the Government of India, the State Governments are not devolving financial and administrative powers to these rural institutions.

The above situation does not augur well. Sincere efforts are needed in this regard so that the dreams of Gandhiji come true.

Many distortions have cropped up in our country in the last fifty years. Terrorism has spread and corruption has also increased. The three organs of the Government *viz* the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary are being viewed with the suspicion. The condition of the political workers is the worst. The efforts are needed to bring about improvement in this regard so that democracy is strengthened in the country and our country is saved from becoming prey to dictatorship like some of our neighbouring countries. Real freedom and proper development of the country is possible only when we are able to provide food, clothing and shelter to everyone, we should adopt a resolution on this occasion in the House to this effect.



SHRI JAYSINH CHAUHAN

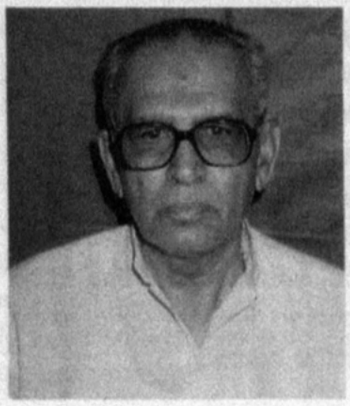
SHRI JAYSINH CHAUHAN (Kapadwanj): Mr. Speaker, Sir, under Article 45 of the Constitution of India, there is provision that education should be imparted compulsorily and free of cost. We are celebrating Golden Jubilee of Independence but so far it has not been implemented. This has created hurdle in progress of the country. Literacy Mission has been launched in every district of Gujarat but it is not effective. These schemes are going on papers only. Grants from the Government is received for this purpose, but not utilised properly. Still there is time to realize this mistake and I demand that proper arrangements should be made for free education of children so that they could make their contribution in progress of the country.

Secondly, a uniform civil code should be enacted so that equal justice, free legal aid, education and assistance should be provided to people. There are several shortcomings in the proposed Uniform Civil Code. Common man has to run from pillar to post for getting justice. Judicial system is costly and resentment is prevailing among common man. Due to corruptions legal assistance is being provided discriminatedly. I would like to make a submission that provisions of the Constitution of India should be followed strictly.

In the context of education and financial condition of SC/ST and backward classes I would like to say that their welfare is not cared so far. Their economic condition is deteriorating day by day. These children are still treated as untouchables in schools. I would like to say that efforts should be made for their upliftment.

Under Article 48 of the Constitution of India provisions have been made for protecting agriculture and animal husbandry. Cows and miching cattle are being slaughtered even today. The provisions of the Constitution of India should be followed. According to Article 53(A) of the Constitution of India, respect should be given to National Flag. On 15th August 1997, Chief Minister of Gujarat, Shri Shankar Singh Vaghela unfurled National Flag on the fort of Bhadra but it remained coiled and could not be hoisted properly. Is it not an insult to the National Flag or the Constitution of India. If so, why action should not be taken against the guilty person whether he is a Chief Minister or holding any higher post. But so far nothing has been done in this regard.

Even after fifty years of our independence, today in the golden jubilee days there has not been any change in the poverty, illiteracy etc. Did our many leaders like Gandhiji, Sardar Patel, Subhash Babu etc. sacrifice their lives for this state of affairs? Whether these were their dreams? Their sacrifices should not go waste. We should be responsible for it. Only then we will be able to celebrate this golden jubilee celebration.



SHRI DADA BABURAO PARANJPE

SHRI DADA BABURAO PARANJPE (Jabalpur): Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, during the last one year, I could not deliver any speech in the House, due to my ill health. I had raised matters only under Rule 377. Today also, I was not interested to deliver a speech. But during the last five days, about 200 members had expressed their views on the 50th year of our independence. I thought that my subject will also be covered by any of these Members. But it was not done, hence I am forced to speak. My subject is—the contribution of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's 'Azad Hind Fouj' in the freedom struggle and the expectations of innumerous martyres after the independence.

I was a Sainik of Indian National Army or 'Azad Hind Fouj' and fought against the English army in Burma. I was injured while fighting with them in 1944 in Mandle in Burma. A bullet was hit in my one foot, while my knee of my other leg was fractured. Its knee cap was replaced. It is a history, how I was recruited in the Army.

The 52nd Congress session was held in Tripuri, Jabalpur in 1939 A.D. Netaji Subhash Chandra was the President of that session. There were 52 elephants in the procession which took place on this occasion. Netaji had 104°F. tempreture on that day, therefore his photo was placed and the procession was taken out. I was working as an ordinary worker (Swam-Sevak) in that session I was only 17 years old. There were two types of workers in the Congress and it could be divided into factions. One faction was known as Extremists and the other was known as Moderates. Netaji was the leader of extremist faction and I fully endorsed his point of view. I wanted to have a close encounter with Netaji and that's why I volunteered to serve him and opted to be on duty where he was recuperating. I remained for six hours by his side and my job was to check his temperature, make him drink water, put cold water dipped bandages on his forehead and make him drink milk. Even when Netaji was running 104 degree temperature I had a chance to talk to him and he agreed that in his thinking Rani Laxmibai made supreme sacrifice during the freedom struggle started since 1857.

Poetess Subhdra Kumari Chauhan wrote the following couplet.

"Bundele Harbolo Ke Mukh Se Hamne Suni Kahani thi
Khoob lari mardani Vah to Jhansi Wali Rani thi."

Poetess and Rani Laxmibai were not contemporaries and that's why she said 'Bundele Harbolo Ke Mukh Se Hamne Suni Kahani Thi'. Regarding Netaji and Azad Hind Fauj I would like to dwell on my personal experiences gained by joining Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) and getting injured while fighting the Britishers.

Therefore, I think that my views carry more weightage. Before proceeding to Afghanistan freedom fighter Savarkar secretly met Netaji who was under house arrest by the Britishers in Calcutta. Immediately thereafter Netaji reached Germany *via* Afghanistan and some time after his meeting Netaji, Savorkarji gave a slogan to the people of the country "Bhartiya Fauj Mein Jao, Lekhni chhodo Bandook Pakro." The tenor of the slogan was quite clear. He was of the opinion that non-violent means like 'salt satyagrah' an 'operate spindle' will not force the Britishers quit India. If the Britishers are to be driven out then Indian youth should take up arms. The simple objective of this call was that whenever an opportunity is found the barrel of guns and pistols could be turned towards the Britishers to make them flee from India. Hundreds of Indian youth like me then joined the British Army. In 1941 I joined the Army and in 1942 left for Burma as member of a big contingent. About two years later I got the chance of gunning down four British Officers in a trench and thereafter with my company joined the INA.

There is a phrase in Sanskrit. "Yuddhasya Katha Ramya" which means that war stories seems to be quite infatuating while reading or watching on Television and Cinema screens. However, the fallout of wars is quite terrifying and this is the reason that big nations do not want wars to be fought on their soil. The war in which I took part occurred 55 years ago. Science has made such deep strides that tragedies and human annihilation are too shocking. However, it does not mean that the losses in Burma were less shocking. Common people want to know about the war stories so as to visualise the real war scenes. Therefore, I would like to tell some instances:

1. Japanese Bombers used to fly at tree heights and bombared heavily at the trenches from Machine guns where soldiers used to die down to save their lives. It used to be a routine thing during those days that to protect themselves from machine gun fires soldiers used to cover themselves with dead bodies of their colleagues in the trenches.

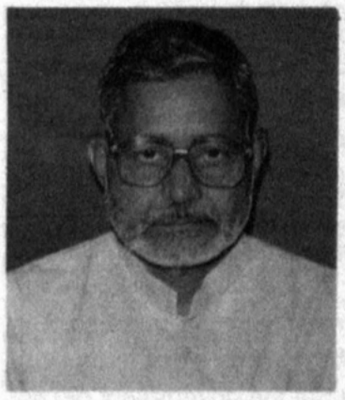
2. There goes a saying that protector is more powerful than the killer. I would like to tell about my personal experience. Once I was at a place called Paigu with my platoon engaged in war where suddenly heavy bombardment started. To guard against the bombing we hid ourselves under a railway bridge. Suddenly a rabbit appeared from the bushes. We all were hungry for the last three days. I took aim and fired at the rabbit. After running for a small distance the rabbit fell down I ran for the rabbit forgetting about the bombing and saw that blood was oozing out of the rabbit. Then a loud thud sound came from behind. On looking back I saw that bridge was not there and all my fellow soldiers were buried under the debris.

3. This is about Molmein. We were running to save ourselves from the enemy. Hundreds of villagers from nearby villages were fleeing along with us towards trenches. The bombardment started and I took shelter in a trench all alone. One Burmese woman was not able to run probably because she was pregnant since nine months. She was slowly coming towards the trench. Had she got one minute more, then things would have been different. But, a bomb fell near by and her stomach got blown and the new born child fell on me and the woman on the child. I got soaked in blood. I kept out of the trench and wore the clothes of a dead body and ran away from the scene.

India remained slave for nearly 1000 years at the hands of the Mughals and Britishers. I do not want to dwell on the old historical past, but I would like to talk about the facts of 1857 freedom struggle. Thousands of countrymen sacrificed their lives alongwith Rani Laxmibai, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Tantya Tope, Mangal Pandey, Nana Saheb for the freedom of the country. If I talk about 19th century, then Shahid-E-Azam, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Shahid Ashylak Ullah, Chandrashekhar Azad, Chapekar Bandhu, Khudiram Bose, Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil, Madan Lal Dhingra and innumerable revolutionaries went to the gallows.

We, in India, undertake the pilgrimage of 'Chardham' to seek salvation but, to my mind, we should go for the pilgrimage 'Panchdhama—the 'fifth dhama' being the cellular jail situated in Andaman. A number of revolutionaries from Bengal and Punjab were shifted to Andaman jail in 1909 and the barbaric Britishers hanged them to death. The cell in which the great freedom fighter, Vir Savarkar was lodged for 9 long years, is also worth seeing. This cell is on the third floor and in its premises there is the gallows. A total of 87 revolutionaries were hanged during these 9 years and Vir Savarkar tied in felters was brought to the gallow on every occasion when a revolutionary was hanged so as to tame him psychologically.

I think that there were two aspects of India's independence, one was the path of non-violence, propounded by Mahatma Gandhi and the other was that of violence chosen by these revolutionaries and Netaji and his INA. The chariot of India's independence accomplished its goal by treading its path on these two wheels. Today, on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence, I am reminded of that battlefield of Burma and thousands of our soldiers whose souls seem to ask me whether they had shed their sweat instead of their blood for us and whether their sacrifices would bear no fruits. I want to tell them that afterall I am one among them. The only difference is that they braved the shower of bullets and laid their lives for the country whereas I am, fortunately, alive even after bullets were pumped into me. In view of the sentiments expressed in the House during the past 5 days, I would like to tell them that their sacrifices would not go without bearing fruits and after 50 years of independence, India has awakened to the situation to take pledge of reviving ethical standards and eradicating corruption while believing these as assumptions. I would like to assume all those martyrs that the days of going astray are gone and 'Ramarajya' as visualised by Gandhi will soon be established. Paying homage to all the martyrs, I conclude my speech.



SHRI DEVI BUX SINGH

SHRI DEVI BUX SINGH (Unnao): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is matter of great pleasure for the people that a special session of Parliament has been convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence and its proceedings are being live telecast. The people all over the country are watching the discussion. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we have gained and what we have lost in these fifty years of independence? We have heard the speeches of the Hon. President, the Prime Minister and various leaders. The people all over the country have also heard the speeches on Doordarshan. But in this whole process the voice of the common man has gone unheard. Sir, the feeling of

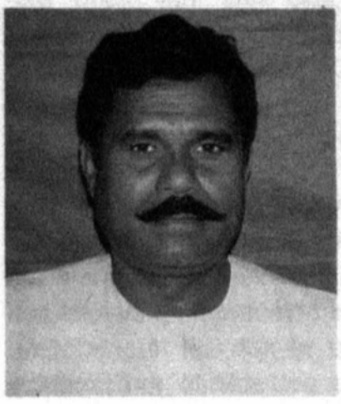
nationalism is eroding. Today the people do not have the feeling of patriotism. That is the change which has taken place during these fifty years. At that time people were ready to make any sacrifice for the country. Subhash Chandra Bose, Chander Shekhar Azad, Raja Rao Bux Singh, Raj Guru etc. are some examples who made sacrifices for the freedom of the country. Pt. Vishambar Das and Jetha Singh of Unnao district were such great persons who gave call for freedom struggle and the entire people of the State joined them. But today we see that our entire set up is plagued with corruption. The corruption is like sugar in the blood of youths. How it could be pumped out? If it is not done the country could not emancipate from corruption. Even the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers and the ministers are allegedly indulging in corruption. What will be the future of a State whose Head is imprisoned for charges of corruption. Only the God can save that country. The salvage of our nation from its present plight is possible only if our youth resort to a revolution. In the next fifty years our country will be in the list of developed countries. So there is need to get rid of corruption from administration. Our leaders have to find someway out to set right the system.

Sir, education is the second issue. Even after fifty years of Independence, what is the standard of education in our villages? We have been an utter failure in making adequate arrangements for providing educational facilities to our rural people despite having spent crores of rupees. Education should be given top priority.

Third issue is health. Medical facilities are inadequate even in the big cities. Villages do not have Health Centres and if at all Health Centres are there, medicines and doctors are not there. Doctors are not willing to be posted there. To make the society free from diseases health education should be given to the common man. Both men and women are migrating from villages to the cities, because there is lack of employment opportunities in the villages. Even the villagers are also sending their children to the cities. But India resides in the villages. Many plans were formulated and allocations were also made but the government did not pay attention towards the villages during last fifty years. Not even 15% of this amount is being spent on development work as is evident in Bihar. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Uttar Pradesh gave the country three Prime Ministers but what is the position of development in the State? The rural people of the State hardly know who is the Prime Minister of the country or which party has formed the Govt. because they are still illiterate and devoid of basic amenities.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I find that the Govt. shall extend facilities to the farmers and provide educational and employment opportunities in the rural areas to make them prosperous and self reliant. A country's progress does not depend on urban development. More rhetorics do not provide employment to the hungry and the illiterate. We shall have to make concerted endeavour for educating the last citizen of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today everybody is looking up to the Parliament. Let us jointly resolve to launch a crusade against corruption so that people take a sigh of relief and this discussion being held during the last 5-6 days does not turn out to be a futile exercise.



SHRI NAND KUMAR SAI

SHRI NAND KUMAR SAI (Raigarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, though I did not get an opportunity to express my views by way of a speech on this occasion of the golden jubilee year of India's Independence, yet I could pen down my sentiments in black and white for an entry into the golden sheets of history for which you granted us permission.

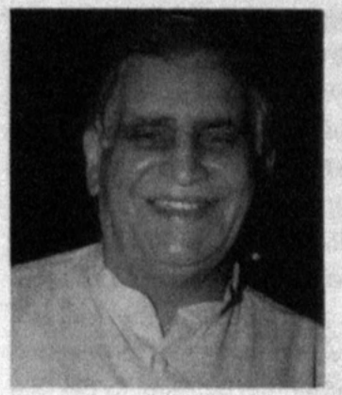
Sir, I would not say that we achieved nothing during these 50 years of independence but I am sorry to say that we could have achieved much more. There are no means of transport and availability of drinking water in remote tribal areas today. No pragmatic schemes were formulated for the upliftment of the tribals. Thus, they did not get due benefits of these schemes. For example residential units were constituted for Korma tribes—men living in the hilly ranges of Jashpur in district Raigarh (M.P.). Their habitation is located at hilly ranges whereas the houses were constructed at hill base area in the villages. As a result no tribes—men live in these houses which are occupied by other people. However crores of rupees were spent in their name. There were many other impracticable schemes. The tribals who are basically farmers were given goats which met their death within days due to ill-health. There was actually, need for providing irrigation facilities to the tribesmen at the hill ranges as these facilities have not been provided during these 50 years, the agriculture lagged behind, as a result the tribals also lagged behind and thereby our national history of 5 decades lagged behind.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have given us a good opportunity by convening this special session of the House to enable us to analyse what we have done during the last 50 years of independence. There has been moral degeneration. We have not been able to make much progresss even in the field of education. The absence of cultural traits in education is also a matter of concern. The aim of education should have been overall development of Woman beings. It has been left over. However that end is yet to be achieved if we have to produce good citizens in the country, education should contain patriotic fervour and traits of our culture that has enamoured people across the borders of the nations so as to build ourselves a strong nation that may guide the other countries of the world. There should be uniform education and syllabus in the country. However the medium of education is different in different regional languages of those States. Teaching of English should be completely banned and Hindi should be the official language. Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject throughout the country as the word Sanskrit itself implies refinement and Sanskrit literature is perennial source of diverse knowledge of India. A person who cannot read Sanskrit, cannot comprehend sciences of ancient India. Therefore, the study of Sanskrit should be emphasised.

If we encourage the consumer culture through our education corruption will increase and the crime graph will also increase. Internal threats will also increase. If the education inculcates the feeling of patriotism it would make our future generation patriotic and there will be no terrorists in the country. Moreover all the citizens will be able to face the external threats.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the end I would like to say that grooming of ideal citizen is a work of paramount significance and we shall have to achieve it. It will check criminalization, corruption and terrorism and boost the developmental activities in the country and we will be able to keep a check on increasing unemployment and population outburst. Sometime, before the independence the young saint, Swami Vivekananda had rightly said—We need only individuals, everything else would take care of itself but these strong enthusiastic youth should stand with devout faith amidst all situation. My dear children, I want the people with iron body nerves and strong will power. With the help of Vigorous, wise and noble spirited person, we can solved all the problems.

Thank you for giving an opportunity to submit my written speech.



SHRI KRISHAN LAL SHARMA

SHRI KRISHAN LAL SHARMA (Outer Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is an important occasion in the history of India, to have a retrospective look on the last fifty years since India attained independence and resolving for the future in this House of People.

On this occasion I am presenting my written speech on some of the issues in brief.

First of all, we should pay our humble tribute to those innumerable great persons and martyrs whose life long struggle and sacrifices made our country free form the slavery of centuries. In addition, we should have a retrospective look on how India got freedom in 1947 and whose struggle and sacrifices made us to achieve the goal and whether we are able to translate their dreams into action during the last fifty years, and whether we have proved our worth. In fact though India has made much progress but we are trailing behind those countries which attained freedom with us.

Today what we have to find out is that why India which was to prosperous and have incomparable vast natural resources remained slave for centuries. History shows that the foreigners whether they were Mughals or British did not rule the country by their power but they succeeded in it with the help of divide and rule policy. In the year of golden jubilee of our independence we would have to resolve that whichever party is in power it would follow the policy of unite and rule and get rid of the policy of divide and rule.

The euphoria of achieving independence was overshadowed by the sordid partition of the country. Today, we should pay tribute to those thousands of people whose lives have been sacrificed in the tragedy of the partition. Here, we must remind that the seeds of partition of the country were sown due to the communal Award and the Two Nation Theory. Today we should firmly resolve that we won't repeat that blunder of the partition and as long as we live we won't allow any partition of the country. We should also make it amply clear that India is one nation, one country and as one man and language, province, and different

customs cannot affect our historical and cultural unity, instead it confirms the principle of unity in diversity.

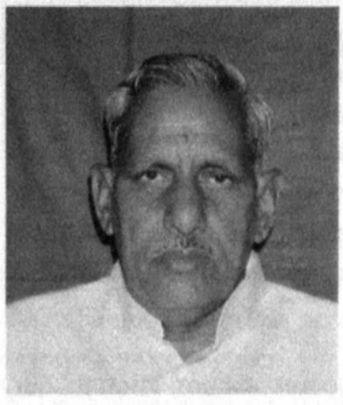
Today, we are talking about second freedom struggle. After independence the second freedom struggle means people should also get economic freedom alongwith the political freedom. Today we should also ponder whether we have been able to provide the people living in villages, poors, farmers, labourers and downtroddens the fruits of independence. The need is that we should make this second freedom meaningful by giving economic facilities to the last persons in the ladder of development with the feeling of antyodaya. We should also think over that in the race of liberalization whether we are inviting economic slavery.

During last fifty years we have proved that India has deep faith in the principles of democracy and secularism. Now, whichever party may be in power but we should not harm our Constitution and the principles of democracy and secularism propounded therein. The social justice, economic justice, freedom to worship, equality of opportunity and universal franchise guaranteed by the Constitution of India to every citizen strengthen the unity of the country. I think if the Chapter containing the Fundamental Duties has preceeded the Chapter containing Fundamental Rights, the attention of every citizen might have gone to the Fundamental Duties first and then to the Fundamental Rights. History is the testimony of the fact that when people complete for duties and devotion, the country marched ahead on the path of progress and when people compete for rights and power country moves towards downfall. Today we have completely forgotten that there is any chapter containing Fundamental Duties in our Constitution which must be reminded.

Unfortunately corruption is rampant at all levels in the country. Every leader and every party is also concerned about it. It is also being called upon by the leaders at their own level to root out the corruption. Needless to say that the situation grew more grim with every remedy applied to it. We should think as to why our words are not translated into action. On the call of "Do or die" of Mahatma Gandhi the whole country was with him. When Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose said, "Give me blood and I will give you freedom," a number of people offered their lives for sacrifice. Several revolutionaries like Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Ram Prasad Bismil have ungrudgingly went to the gallows. The need of the hour is to create power in your words by presenting ideal of your life which can be followed by the whole country. If we have to eradicate corruption and start a new chapter we have to resolve to follow the patriotism and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Sardar Patel, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jaya Prakash Narain and Dr. Shayama Prasad Mukherjee.

Our past was glorious. Having proud of that glorious past we should take inspiration from it. Review the good and bad aspects of fifty years of independence and we should resolve to make India a leading country in the 21st Century. Also we should have the confidence that the message of world peace and protection of human rights will emerge form India because India is the only country which views entire human race as being equals. From this land of Gandhi, Buddha, Mahavira and Vivekananda, this message should be conveyed:

"Nizame-e-Jeest Ka Mahavar Mohabbat
Haqeeqat Ek Afsane Bahut Hain."



SHRI SHYAM BEHARI MISHRA

SHRI SHYAM BEHARI MISHRA (Bilhaur): Mr. Speaker Sir, I thank you for having convened this Special Session of Parliament on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence. In this Session, we are reviewing our performance during the last fifty years. In your inaugural address, you have given a call for launching yet another freedom struggle. A new awakening has been generated in the minds of 96 crore citizens of our country in this Golden Jubilee year. The spirit of patriotism has been rekindled in the citizens of India. The way the Government money has been misused in the last 15 years, the scams have been unravelled one after the other and the way the involvement of and the key roles played by the protectors of the nation have been revealed, has been a disappointing experience for the common man in the country. Doubts are being raised about the spirit of dedication towards the nation. However, speaking on the very first day of this Session, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee touched upon issues of corruption and criminalisation of politics as a result of which the people of this country wake up. Afterwards, all the political parties took up the issue of corruption due to which public awareness was generated.

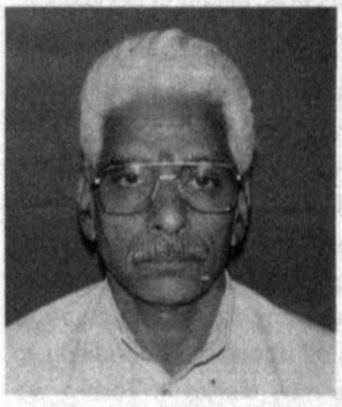
Sir, development has taken place in various fields in the last 50 years. We achieved self-sufficiency in the matter of food production development took place in the field of industry and trade. The boundaries of our country were protected by our valiant soldiers. India was seen as one of the prominent countries in the field of Science and Technology. However, moral degeneration also took place equally rapidly. There has been a degeneration in the character of protectors of the country. Our economic policies were faulty. After coming to power, the concept of 'Ram Rajya' propounded by Gandhi ji was forgotten. The principles laid down in 'Arthashastra' of Kautilaya were not followed while deciding the economic policies and in the field of politics, the policies laid down by Chanakya were not followed. Election manifestos began to be prepared in order to attract the voters at the time of attaining independence, the country was divided and now by giving importance to politics of vote, the country is being divided yet again by giving rise to casteism, communalism, regionalism, nepotism and even pitting husband and wife against each other. The politicians adopted each and every trick to come to power and to stay in power. The politicians who opposed this trend and made an effort to make true the dream of bringing Ram-Rajya in the country by invoking the spirit of nationalism and patriotism, were called communalists. The slogan of 'swadeshi', self-sufficiency and self-respect turned out to be a dream. The spirit of 'swadeshi' *i.e.* preference for indigenous products was severally affected by the policy of liberalisation. When the BJP raised the slogan of 'swadeshi', it was dubbed as a fundamentalist.

In these 50 years, poverty and unemployment has risen and rich poor divide has reached the extreme point. On one hand, there are people where bungalows, houses and terraces have swimming pools and on the other hand, poor farmers and labourers are living in slums in villages without drinking water facility even after 50 years of independence. In summer, many persons living in villages die as they drink contaminated water to quench their thirst. On one hand, literacy campaign is being launched in the field of education and on the other hand, there are no schools where the students may take admission. In villages, 25 per cent students study under trees or on the raised platforms. Long speeches are delivered for the upliftment of dalits, the exploited and the backward. Society is being divided on these grounds by raking up controversies and turning every village into a battle-field. The provision of compulsory and free education upto High School for all the children is not being implemented.

Even after 50 years of Independence, civic amenities could not be provided to the common man. Such a taxation system has been drawnup, under which there has been an increase in black money and corruption in the form of bribery has risen. Kautilya has stated in 'Arthashastra' that every King has the right to impose taxes but the rate of taxes and manner of its recovery should be such so that the tax-payers did not face any hardship. He cited an example and said that taxes should be recovered in the manner as a bee collects honey from the flowers without marring its beauty. We require such a taxation system in our country.

On one hand, the Prime Minister makes an announcement from the rampart of Red Fort to put an end to bribery and on the other hand, he has paved the way for bribery by extending the Essential Commodities (Special Amendment) Act, 1981 for another five years. How will this dual policy succeed?

Even after 50 years of Independence, the facilities of Food, Clothing, Shelter, Education are not available. Sir, there is a need to pass a Resolution regarding launching a struggle to attain economic self-sufficiency in order to remove poverty and unemployment.



SHRI BHERU LAL MEENA

SHRI BHERU LAL MEENA (Salumber): Mr. Speaker, Sir, despite my untiring efforts I could not get the opportunity to speak in this special session of Lok Sabha on the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebrations of our independence, but as per your orders I hereby lay my views in writing on the Table of the House. If you consider my views useful in giving a new direction to the country, then kindly include them.

Sir, you have done a marvellous job by calling a Special Session of Lok Sabha and you deserve our congratulations for it We got independence about 50 years back and since then our country has done a lot. Although our population has increased, three times during this period yet we are able to meet the requirement of foodgrains in the country. I remember, that our population at the time of independence was 30 crores. At that time we used to import foodgrains from other countries, to meet the requirement of 30 crore people of the country and those countries used to supply us substandard quality of foodgrains. We have made

significant progress in this regard. Our industries have made good progress. Our standard of living has shown improvement, our economic condition has also improved to some extent but not as per our requirement.

Our great leaders had laid their lives to fight the Britishers for the long 60 years to make India free. The fighters who adopted the way of Ahimsa were either sent to Jail or hanged till death. Even such as Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose, Shahid Bhagat Singh, Ravindra Nath Tagore etc. took the plunge with their full force for the freedom of the country.

After independence, the development works in the country were carried out in a very planned manner. With the schemes formulated by Jawahar Lal Nehru Ji, our country became self-reliant in the field of foodgrains. Big dams were constructed on the major rivers of the country and green revolution was brought in the country. After Nehruji's, death, Smt. Indira Gandhi nationalised the industries and banks as a result of which lakhs of youths in the country got employment in the public sector undertakings.

I regret to say that 50 years have passed but in the name of poor people each and every Member of Parliament have been making glib speeches in Lok Sabha but the problems of the poor people remain the same. Nobody is bothered about the feelings of the poor and their poor representatives. The high-officials and the top leaders of parties are making long speeches in the name of poor people. I hail from rural areas and am very much close to workers but I am not explaining all about their condition in detail because front line leaders may dislike it. Today, we people belonging to poor class have very much understood about how we are being deceived but we are helpless. The poor representatives of all type of poor people irrespective of any party, feel very bad that nobody is paying any heed to them. Today only rich people dominating. Those who have feelings for the country and who hear the problems of the people are dominated by the rich and the slogan of alleviating the poverty remains confined to the speeches only. The funds which are given in the name of development of backward areas are less. The funds given by planning commission under Five Year Plans for the Adivasi areas are much less.

I, therefore, request you that the funds allocated by the Planning Commission should also be given to Adivasi areas particularly to Udaipur, Dungerpur, Banswada, Sirohi etc. in Rajasthan. As there is no agricultural land in these areas, industries should be set up there.

I do not want to praise or criticise, any particular party but whatever I have seen in my life, would like to narrate it with full faith. I say that our country has made smooth progress continuously for 25 years after independence i.e. our development schemes were running smoothly since 1947 till 1972.

After 1972, such an atmosphere was created in the country which led to creation of various new political parties in the country resulting in domination of regionalism and casteism in the country. Good schemes could not be implemented properly. Despite all that Pandit Nehru; Indira Ji and Rajiv Gandhi in their wisdom worked to give pace to the development work of the country.

In 1977, the public threw Congress out of power and opposition came to power. But that Government could not complete its term and was back to the pavilion within a period of two and half years only. From 1980 to 1990 the Congress again came to power. Again people denied the Congress party and non Congress Government came to power but it remained in power only for one and a half year. Thus after 1977, different parties come to power, which put hindrances in the development of the country. As far as I can understand today, the representatives of the people of our country have also limited interest. They show least interest in the progress of the country and remain restricted to themselves and their respective constituencies only. Then how can we control the population growth and solve the other problems of the country. It needs special consideration.

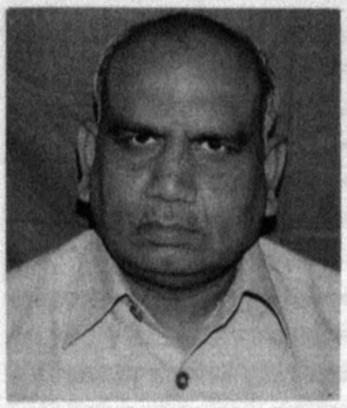
If these remain our feelings then the glory of our country in the world, brought by Nehru Ji and Indira Ji will surely fade away and the results of which would be very bad.

Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, you have called this special session on a very right occasion. We have to seriously consider about our country, our plans, our passions, policies and direction.

In this regard, I would like to say that our freedom fighters had fought for long 60 years without caring for their lives to make our nation free. So it is our duty to rise ourselves above narrow mindedness and politics and adopt this Resolution. We resolve:

1. to fulfil our duty towards our great India.
2. to come forward for the upliftment of our society.
3. to cooperate in the developmental works of our area.
4. to give priority to the development of the country instead of our relatives and family.

I hope that with this kind of thinking and zeal for duty, we would be able to give a new direction to the country.



SHRI CHHATRAPAL SINGH

SHRI CHHATRAPAL SINGH (Bulandshahar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I would pay obeisance to all those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of this country. While sacrificing their lives, the martyrs had conceived of an India which would ensure all the comforts and rights to everybody. But even after 50 years of Independence we have not been able to make our national days of 15th August and 26th January as an occasion to be celebrated by common man. On these two national days, there is no pomp and gaiety and enthusiasm like that of Deepawali, Holi, Id, Guru Nanak's birth day or Baisakhi. The people of this country are great who want to bind the people together in spite of diversity in attire, foodhabits, and prayer. But we have not been able to uplift all the classes of this nation after 50 years of Independence. Even now, women are scavenging and carrying filth over their head. It is a matter of shame for our civilized society. Therefore, everybody should have to make efforts to do away with this shameful practice.

Today 38 per cent of population of the country is living below poverty line, but this percentage is not same in all the regions because after independence uniform attention was not paid towards all the regions. Some regions were given more facilities and more funds. In this connection, I would like to give an example of a slender department, i.e., Horticulture Department, where the Central Government has not done the full justice. Andhra Pradesh got 24.18 crore rupees in 1992 and from 1993 to 1997 260.41, 633.51, 860.51, 466.08, 7095.86 crore rupees respectively from Horticulture whereas U.P. was given 128.92 in 1992, 704.32 in 1993, 305 in 1994, 344.98 in 95, 93.56 in 96. Same was the position with other States also. That is why all the States could not develop equally.

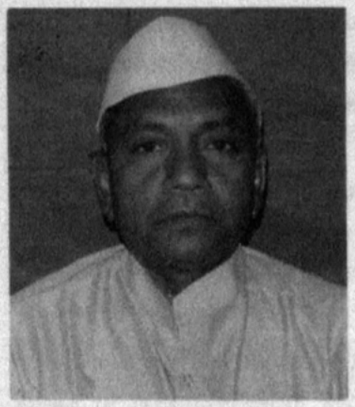
Today, even after 50 years of independence every individual of the country is not provided with education, health, food, water, shelter and not even with job. Such is our India after 50 years. Every individual of this country is not provided with security, every field is not provided with water, this country is divided into say India and Bharat. In certain household the kitchen is cool whereas there are families whose dogs move about in motor-cars. We shall have to bridge this gap. Then only every individual of the country will get the benefit of Independence.

Even after 50 years of Independence we have not been able to give financial and social independence to every individual, not even the political independence. There are some people even now who are not allowed to cast their votes. Such is the state of affairs. There are certain classes in our society who are not allowed to sit with the people of higher castes even on a cot. Everybody talks about wiping out casteism but infact politicians themselves encourage it. The Members of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies should pledge that they will not attach the word, denoting their castes with their names.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, even after 50 years of independence we have not been able to fulfil our primary need of electricity. That is why the agricultural fields in the country have dried up and the factories are facing closure. The pace of generation of electricity has not been in proportion to increase in population of the country. The production of power in U.P. is merely 63,377 lakh Kws and its distribution too is not proper. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have set up the network of small industries but it has not reached the rural areas. The setting up of small industries has increased by 29.3 per cent but income has increased only by 4.1 per cent.

We spend less percentage of funds on agriculture, that is why the fields are dry and our agriculturists are without food. The budget allocation for agriculture may be increased and the rain water that is wasted may be stored and diverted towards agricultural fields. During the last fifty years, the farmers has been subjected to maximum injustice. The rate of Gold has increased 22 times and the rate of wheat increased only four-folds. The rates of agricultural produce may be increased and barren land may be distributed among the unemployed people after making it cultivable.

Due to paucity of time, I would like to conclude my speech. There are many other points. Before I conclude, I would ask to keep a check on our bureaucracy only then corruption could be brought under control.



SHRI MANIKRAO HODLYA GAVIT

*SHRI MANIKRAO HODLYA GAVIT (Nandurbar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to express my views in Marathi. I may please be allowed to do so. I would like to commence my speech by paying tributes to martyrs who earned freedom for this country. We have entered 50th year of independence and we are celebrating golden jubilee of our independence. On this occasion a special session of Lok Sabha has been convened. Sir, I thank you and Deputy Speaker and Government of India. Many leaders and Hon'ble Members expressed their views regarding the progress made by the country in the past 50 years. I was indeed happy to listen to them.

I recall the contribution made by Mahatma Gandhi who was mainly responsible for attaining freedom, his colleagues and people of this country. Many programmes were implemented and are being implemented for ensuring development according to the vision of Mahatma Gandhi. The people of this country cannot forget the right direction given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, towards progress and the slogan of 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan' given by Lal Bahadur Shastri, the former Prime Minister. Similarly, 20 point programme announced by former Prime Minister late Smt. Indira Gandhi and important decisions like nationalisation of banks were taken. Various schemes for improving the social and educational status of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were implemented and are still being implemented. Allotment of 30' x 30' plots to the houseless people and construction of houses for them, implementation of the slogan 'roti, kapada aur makan' (food, clothing and shelter), tribal sub plan for tribal areas, area development plan and such other schemes were implemented. That is why all people, particularly adivasis cannot forget Smt. Indira Gandhi.

Former Prime Minister late Rajiv Gandhi gave voting right to young persons who were 18 by prescribing 18 years as age limit for voting. He announced several schemes for the youth of this country. Per capita grants were sanctioned for all Panchayats of rural areas. Thus an opportunity was given to achieve rural development through Gram Panchayats. I pay my homage to those brave soldiers of freedom struggle who fearlessly faced the bullets of the British and laid down their lives for the cause of freedom of motherland. People of this country can never forget them.

In the city of Nandurbar, which is in my constituency Nandurbar, a students procession was taken out on 9.9.1942. The British fired bullets at late Shirish Kumar and his colleagues. Shirish Kumar and his three colleagues with tricolor flag in their hands became martyrs. Such were the students in those days. It is our duty to remember them. I myself was a student in 1947. Tricolour flag was unfurled in our school on 15.8.1947. 'Pedas' were distributed to the students. I cannot forget that day that is why I would like to speak on primary, secondary and college education. Today's primary education, particularly in tribal areas is confined only to the teaching of a teacher. Students are not imparted general knowledge. Parents gather at examination centre for Xth Board examination. Students are supplied material for copying in the examination. Similarly at examination centres for XIIth Board examination, many relatives of candidates gather for supplying material for copying to their wards. Similarly, during college education also, many students resort to copying for passing the examination. In Navodaya Vidyalayas which have been opened in far flung areas, principal and teachers are not appointed in time and there is no control over them. We have to create very good social workers, good teachers, lecturers and principals. We should have good doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists and officers. We must have ideal citizens and patriots, social workers. That is the need of the hour. But looking at the quality of education which we are giving, I have an apprehension as to how we will achieve these objectives. Education is the foundation of human development. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders entrusted the responsibility of drafting the Constitution to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is indeed the great fortune of backward class people. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar provided for reservation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes for some seats in Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha, Zilla Parishad, Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Municipalities and Corporations in urban areas. That is why backward class people got political reservation. That is why I myself and other members belonging to backward class are the member of this august House, Lok Sabha. Similarly reservation and other concessions have been provided to backward classes in education and in Government and non-government services. Some people have started feeling that by getting reservation in services, the backward people have got a lot. That is why there is opposition to reservation. Many non-genuine persons are getting the benefits meant for backward people.

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Marathi.

Real backward persons are deprived of the jobs. The only intention of providing reservation to backward people in education, employment and politics was that they would attain economic, educational and social progress alongwith other sections of society and improve their standard of living. But I am sorry to point out that this is not so. Since 7th Lok Sabha, I am a member of this House. Many Hon'ble Members speak about development of backward areas. But has all round development of backward areas been achieved to the desired extent? Progress in respect of railway, roads, irrigation is very little and negligible. Reservation should be provided strictly in accordance with scheduled of list meant for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I request the Government to consider my speech with due seriousness.

SHRI CHITRASEN SINKU

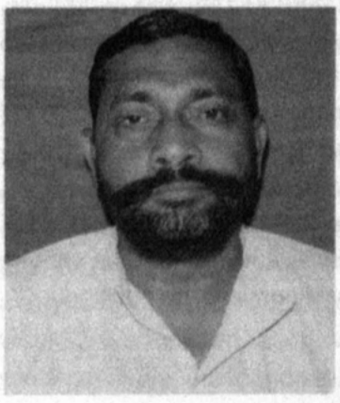
[Translation]

SHRI CHITRASEN SINKU (Singhbhum): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the occasion of Special Session in connection with the Golden Jubilee of Independence I would like to draw the attention of this House and the people of India to the following points:

1. India is an agricultural country. No concrete steps have been taken for the development and facilities of agriculturist majority. Neither, water has been provided for proper irrigation of their fields nor a proper price has been paid to their crop. If we compare the prices of commodities with that of the price of foodgrains 20 years ago, we find that there is a ten-times rise in the prices of other commodities whereas the prices of foodgrains increased merely 1.50 to 2 times. In this situation the agriculturist became poorer day by day. Today agriculture is considered a losing trade. If the same situation continues, the agriculturist will stop cultivating their field. Their pitiable condition needs for serious thought.

2. With the increase in the population, unemployment in the country is also increasing day by day in the same proportion. Today the number of registered unemployed people in the country has reached nearly 4 crore, 85 lakh, and the number of unregistered unemployed youth would reach to 8 crores. Apart from this man power is being decreased in the name of modernisation in all the Public and Private Sector Undertakings. For example, I would like to mention the situation of Public and Private Undertakings in my Constituency. In Units of Steel Authority of India (SAIL) the number of labourers have been decreased by 12,000 during the last five years. Likewise, in Tata Steel some 5 years back there were nearly 35 thousand labourers but now the number has been reduced to merely 28 thousand. Therefore, the reduction of manpower in the name of modernisation may be stopped and new employment opportunities may be generated.

Constitution of a separate State is required for development of Chhota Nagpur, Santhal Pargana. Then only proper development of Tribals of these areas is possible.

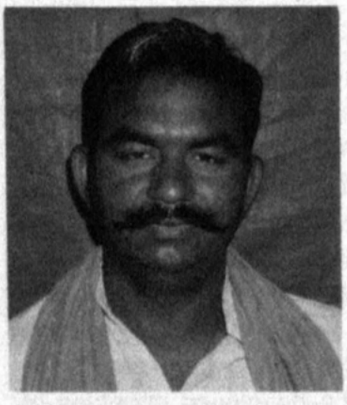


SHRI RAMMURTI SINGH VERMA

SHRI RAMMURTI SINGH VERMA (Shahjahanpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today you have summoned the House for special Session on the completion of 50th anniversary of our independence to review our achievements and failures during the last 50 years. For the first time in the history of India you, irrespective of party affiliation, put forward your suggestions before the country, before the people of India as to how to remove the hurdles in the progress of the country and include it among the developed countries of the world. I associate myself with the views of Hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji and all other leaders, and agree to their proposals.

Sir, today we have completed 50 years of independence. The farmers have particularly been neglected in the country. 80 percent population lives in the villages. These people have not been provided basic education, better living standards and all other amenities required for their

survival. The country cannot become prosperous unless its population living in the villages become prosperous. Gandhiji, Nehruji, and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose fought for freedom against the Britishers. To achieve fruitful results of their freedom struggle they combined the people of all religions and launched their struggle, consequently India got freedom. Gandhiji, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had a vision that every person living in our country should have smile on his face. The people of all the religions may live in harmony and lead their way towards the progress of the country but this vision of Gandhiji could not be fulfilled. The poor are becoming poorer day by day. The rich are becoming more richer. The gap between the rich and the poor went on widening. The country has completed 50 years of its independence but Sir, 46 percent population is leading its life in poverty even today. They do not have any shelter, they don't have means to make both ends meet. The leaders of all political parties boast of removing poverty but whatever amount is sent to the State Governments for launching the programmes in the interest of the poor people, it is swindled away by the officers under the patronage of political leaders. Mr. Speaker, Sir, today the leaders of all political parties have delivered lengthy speeches on rampant corruption in the country but I observe that all bureaucrats, big and small leaders are involved in corruption. The people responsible for marching the country on the path of progress are swindling away the funds. Sir, criminalisation of politics has also been discussed at length but the leaders of all political parties are giving patronage to criminals. We should enact laws so as to put a check on the increasing criminalisation of politics. Until it is curbed, neither the country can move towards progress nor Gandhiji's vision can be fulfilled.



SHRI SHRIRAM CHAUHAN

SHRI SHRIRAM CHAUHAN (Basti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you from the core of my heart for convening this special session on the historical occasion of this Golden Jubilee year of independence to review our achievements and failures of the last 50 years. Sir, our country is great country and it has its glorious traditions. There was a time when it was a vast country. During those days people were having noble feelings of patriotism. When this feeling went on weakening the country was enslaved. In order to get our country free form this slavery, a chain of movements and struggles emerged before us. In the Northern India we are reminded of Tulsidas, Meera, Kabir, Ramanand, Surdas, Raskhan, Acharya Shankar, Dev Chetanya Mahaprabhu, Guru Nanak and other so many successive Gurus, in the South of Vindhya galaxy of Maganibhar and Alwar saints appeared before us. Basweshwar, Tyagraj, Purandar Das, Kanakdas, Ramdas, Gyaneshwar, Tukaram, Eknath, Namdev etc. are some prominent figures who aroused the ardent feelings of patriotism in the masses through Bhajans and other devotional songs and thus they made the people aware and capable of combating the foreign invasion. The inspiration of Shivaji, who fought for 'Swaraj' was also spiritual. He said to the people, "have faith in God, that will make us capable to achieve 'Swaraj' because it is also the wish of God". Guru Govind Singh sacrificed his four sons on the altar of freedom like a floral tribute and left behind Bir Banda Bairagi and Ranjeet Singh as his successor who fought constantly for achievement of 'Swaraj'.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, among the heroes of freedom struggle of 1857 Nana Saheb Peshwa, Lakshmi Bai, Tantya Tope furthered this independence movement. Heroes like Kukaram Singh, Vasudev Balwant Phadke Swarkar, Madam Kama, Ras Bihari Bose, Aalok Nath Chakravarty, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaq Ullah Khan, Sukhdev etc. kept the fire of freedom burning and all these heroes raising slogans 'Jai Bharat Mata Ki', gladly went to the gallows. By sacrificing themselves abroad, Mr. Madan Lal Dhingra and Udham Singh made efforts to win world support in their favour. Swami Vivekanand made age old inspiring national aim a clarion call for freedom struggle. His follower Nivedita give this movement further impetus. Yogi Arvind said "Advancement of Hindutva is advancement of India and downfall of Hindutva is downfall of India". Freedom of India means it should propagate the message of *Sanatan Dharma* all over the world. In future, India should develop diversified activities and constructive conceptions in every field of nation i.e. socio-economic, political, intellectual, arts etc. in the light of sanatan life philosophy. Annie Besant said, "Hinduism is breath and vital force of Indian life. India devoid of such concept will not remain India in real sense. Famous trio, Lal, Bal, Pal, who were among the great heroes of freedom struggle, provided a wide public following in the beginning of the 20th century. Tilak had a vision that an ideal religious state would be set up in India which will universalise its vedic message. He took popular religious festivals and historical incidents as medium for awakening and propagation of patriotism. By organising Ganesh Festival, Shivaji birth anniversary, Rama Navami etc. in a big way, he awakened the public conscience which was in slumber and thus

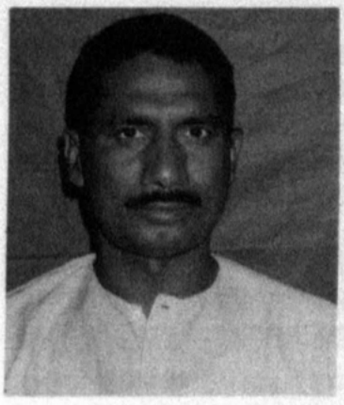
aroused, intense feeling of patriotism. Taking inspiration from Upnishads, Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal awakened the public opinion through social reforms. Founder of Aryasamaj Swami Dayanand aroused the feelings of self-respect, self-esteem and self-expression in the public.

Great saint of Bengal Swami Pranowanand launched programmes of combative forces for youth through Bharat Sewashrams Sangh Arenas and meeting centres. Mahadev Govind, Ranade, Mahatma Phule, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Hegdewar etc. of Maharashtra launched programmes of social harmony. Shri Naryana achieved remarkable success in social reform. The songs of Vande Matram of Bankim Chand Chatterjee instilled the interore feeling of patriotism throughout the country, due to which the decision regarding division of Bengal had to be withdrawn after 4 years. Swami Ram Tirath said that the identification with India is result of trans-cendentalism. Religion has been the most inspiring and regulatory force in this country from village Panchayat level to the reign of Kings.

But the most disturbing feature of free India is that this inspiring feature of freedom struggle, vital power of the movement going on for last 1000 years have been completely neglected, consequently national feelings went on diminishing. Later, the achievement of political power because the main objective and long awaited prestigious aim were sidelined. All steps were taken with an aim of political gain, political power sharing process between national leadership and anti-national fissiparous forces developed and dismemberment of the nation was accepted inspite of paying heavy price for the unfortunate partition of the country, the psyche of political leadership remained unchanged. Prior to 1947 we had the objective of attaining freedom. Today, our Political objective is how to achieve political power and how authority of one's family and one's political party can be maintained.

This has become a political goal. The National politics is lacking in patriotism thereby drifting us from the objectives and goal of our Independence. Our entire political, economic and educational policies are based on western culture. The Maculay system of education is still prevalent. The attitude of our policy makers is western and still have their say in such matters. They have totally neglected the indignisation process and are very much active at present. Hon. Speaker Sir, we cannot improve our economic condition unless we follow the indignisation. There is fear, hunger and corruption everywhere in the country today. Our country will not prosper unless we change our education system and enveloped with national character and patriotism. The problem of self sufficiency and unemployment can only be solved through indignisation.

Hon'ble Speaker Sir, You have given a clarion call for second freedom struggle in order to solve the problems of the country. I do believe Sir, that we can solve all these problems by formulating a good policy in accordance with the country's needs. We also resolve on the occasion of 50th year of India's Independence that we will do our best endeavour to keep India united.



SHRI PADAMASEN CHAUDHARY

SHRI PADAMASEN CHAUDHARY (Behraich) : Hon'ble Speaker Sir, first and foremost I thank you as well as I feel gratitude for our hon. leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee who moved a motion on this occasion of Golden Jubilee celebration, on which discussion is going on for the last six days. What have been our achievements during the last fifty years? I would like to draw your attention towards the agricultural policy. We expected to have an alround development of our villages so that the economic condition of rural folks get ameliorated. Eighty five per cent of our country's population live in villages. It was expected that every unemployed would be provided a job, every child would get education, every village would be connected with roads and life saving drugs would be available to every citizen, every citizen of this country would get clean potable water, every village would be electrified. Our leaders had resolved to fulfill that dream but we have not achieved what we projected. Our country is blessed with abundant water resources and if they are used judiciously we can enhance the power generation to the extent where most of the villages can be electrified. Road plays a very vital role in the development of villages but this is still ellusive. Even after fifty years of our independence the entire villages of our country do not have access to clean potable water. We should resolve to provide clean potable water in every village. We should make education compulsory to all children. Inspite of the presence of health scheme in the villages, people are deprived of life saving drugs. These are our shortcomings. We should give priority to remove such discrepancies. Almost twenty years have elapsed since the Saryu Project was launched in U.P. but it has not been completed so far. It was likely to be completed in ten years time but it has not been completed so far. Saryu Project

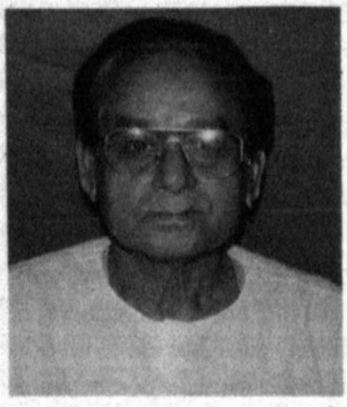
fulfills 1/3 of the irrigation needs of U.P. which bring greenary to the fields of peasants which ultimately raise the production of crops and thereby improving the economic condition of the farmers in return. But due to our faulty and incomplete plans we failed to achieve these important objectives.

India is an agricultural country. This country will prosper only if the farmers of this country prosper. My thinking is that:

Kissan Uthega To Goan Uthega
Goan Uthega To Desh Uthega

We have got to inculcate such opinion then only the country will prosper, India will prosper.

Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me time to participate in this discussion and I am equally thankful to the members of Lok Sabha who gave a patient hearing. I wish that our country may prosper further.



SHRI CHUN CHUN PRASAD YADAV

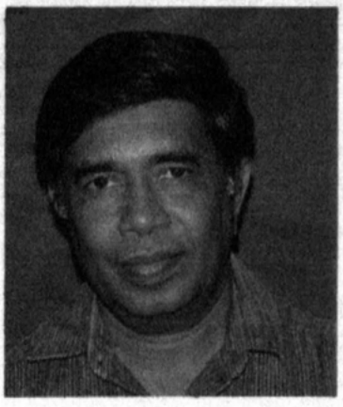
SHRI CHUN CHUN PRASAD YADAV (Bhagalpur) : Mr. Speaker Sir, it is a matter of happiness and pride that on this Special session in 50th years of India's Independence, which took off from 26-8-97, we are deliberating upon the achievements made after Independence. The entire House is busy in discussing the achievements and failures of these five decades in national interest. We are proud of our country. We had a sigh of relief when we got freedom from British imperialism in 1947. Democracy paved its way and we have become the largest democratic country in the world. The country has faced so many elections. The adult people used their franchise and the change of power took place through adult franchise in very peaceful manner, and the country has never witnessed any armed rebellion. After the Independence we have progressed accordingly but its benefit was confined to a few people only 85 per cent people were deprived of its benefit. History is witnessed to this fact that the East India Company came to India in 1600 A.D. for their commercial interest but due to prevalent animosity among the princely states, they tightened their hold and grabbed the power with the passage of time. We became slave to the British imperialism and it was only in 1857, the country woke up against foreign rule. At last country became independent in 1947 under the leadership of Gandhi ji. All people, belonging to different sections of the society participated in this struggle. But after that justice was not done with all people of the country. 85 per cent people remain deprived of economic and social freedom. The prosperity remain confined of a few people only and maximum people remain deprived of even basic requirements. Due to unemployment among educated youth they are forced to go on wrong path as a result of that this peace loving country became the victim of terrorism, theft, rape etc. We have to ponder over it. Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, India is an agriculture based country where 75 per cent inhabitants are peasants and agricultural labourers. But we have never made any concrete effort to improve their economic condition. Earlier 14–15 per cent of our total Budget outlay was used to spend on agricultural Budget which has been reduced to less than half over the years. Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, we had studied in our childhood:

'Uttam kheti, Madhyam Vann'
Nishidh Chakri, Bhikh Nidan"

But the graph of agriculture has come down from Vann (commerce) and Chakri (service). Who is to be blamed for this. When 3/4th of our population depend on agriculture there is a need to improve economic condition of our farmers who are the backbone of our country. We have to make adequate arrangements for irrigation and electricity. We have yet to construct roads in villages. It is necessary to connect village with the main roads so that farmers could carry their produce to the markets and get remunerative price. We have failed to provide clean potable water in villages. A handful of people drink mineral water whereas many people are forced to drink stagnant water of pond and ditches. On the one hand the pet dogs of rich people drink milk and on the other one third of the population is not in position to make both ends meet. This situation is indicative of the prevailing economic disparity. There is an urgent need to remove this disparity. The basic necessities of common men i.e. bread, clothing, shelter, medicine etc. are to be fulfilled. We are at the threshold of twenty first century. We have to take concrete steps to eliminate poverty, disparity and illiteracy. Then only we would be able to move ahead of the developing nations and join the group of developed nations. So many things have been said about corruption. Concrete steps are to be taken to root out the corruption in the real sense of the term. We have seen a new type of corruption that officers investigation the corruption charges call the army with a biased view to arrest somebody without obtaining the orders of their superior officers or of the Government. I also think that these people are also a part

of whole fabric of corruption. The whole House is aware that army was called in connection with the arrest of Ex-Chief Minister Shri Laloo Prasad. Appropriate action should be taken in this regard.

Besides, I have discussed about the arrival of East India Company as a business house and later on taking the charge of governance of India in their hands. I am afraid that our liberalisation policies may not clamp us into the economic slavery of multinational companies. So we should be cautious against the foreign companies.



SHRI OSCAR FERNANDES

*SHRI OSCAR FERNANDES (Udupi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the auspicious occasion of our nation's 50th year of independence I wish to pay my respectful homage to Mahatma Gandhi and his followers Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel and a vast number of freedom fighters who laid their lives for our motherland. I pay my homage to Bhagat Singh and his followers who fought against Britishers bravely. This is the occasion to celebrate our 50th year of independence. Incidentally this is also the birth centenary of Subhash Chandra Bose who formed Muktivahini Army and fought against the Britishers. I pay my homage to him. My humble homage to Mailar Mahadevappa, the vision (Kanmani) of the people of Karnatak. It is my bounden duty to remember Karnadu Sadashiva Rao of South Canara District and all his staunch supporters and freedom fighters from my district who fought against Britishers.

Ullalada Rani Abbakka Devi, Kittur Rani Chennamma, Onake Obavva and other fought against Portuguese. Our floral tributes to them. It is our prime duty to remember Mysore Tiger Tippu Sultan who gave a mighty whip to the British rule in our country the dedicated services of Pangala Nayak's family of Udupi Taluk, South Canara District, are worth remembering.

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Kannada.

It is our prime duty to look into the matter as to what extent we have succeeded in achieving Ramarajya, the dream of the father of our nation Mahatma Gandhi. It is not enough for our poor people if they get political freedom. Gandhiji believed that these people would have real freedom only when they get social and economic freedom. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru felt that the real meaning would be given to freedom only when every tear is wiped out of every poor man's eye. Weaker sections, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people who are subjected to society's suppression and all other poor people of all classes should be treated equally. This was the firm belief of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. he was a great leader who fought for these depressed sections of our society. It is our duty to see that Baba Saheb's dream would become reality.

It was late Indiraji who gave inspiration to the poor people. She encouraged the farmers of our country to fight against poverty. She was responsible for the green revolution in our country. She enabled our country to join the line of developing countries.

It was Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the lamented leader of our country who prepared us to step into 21st century. Unfortunately he is not with us today. We have just three years to enter 21st century. It is our duty to make Rajiv's dream a reality.

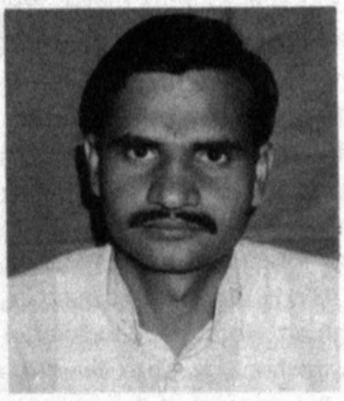
Our nation has achieved a lot during the 50 years of our independence. But there is much more to achieve. We are all Indians first. We should see that this feeling is strengthened. Our rural life is the best life. Our family life is the model for best life and if it is continued so many things can be achieved. School education provides strength to the life of an individual. School education may not provide complete knowledge. Our ancestors through Panchayat system have achieved a lot. Now it is our duty to maintain and develop the uniqueness of village, unity of the people and progress of the village through art, literature, handicrafts and by giving a new shape to new technology. The ultimately goal of Panchayat is to enable the poorest of the poor to lead a peaceful life and provide strength to stand on his own legs. Bapuji's dream can become reality only when these poor people get equality and economic freedom.

Our rivers, mountains, oceans, land, water, air are our wealth. We can eliminate poverty if we can utilize the nature's wealth. We can take out gold if the water that flows to the sea is dinverted for agriculture. We should have plans for each village. Nation's progress is not possible without the progress of village. Our plans must be to utilise every drop of water and every inch of land. Israel has succeeded to convert the salt water of the sea into sweet water and utilise it for agriculture. Here we have rain water in plenty.

If this water is diverted properly for agriculture can there by something which we cannot achieve?

Education should make a man complete personality. It should not create the problem of unemployment. Science and technology must be utilised for achieving supreme efficiency in the field of industry and agriculture. We have to stop the destruction of our ancient books and the knowledge hidden in them must be utilised for our progress. Yoga and Ayurveda must be well utilised for protecting the health of the people. The population of our country is increasing day after day. On account of this the progress that we have achieved through various projects has failed to provide relief from our problems. Therefore we have to give prominence to family planning programmes and we should achieve success in these programmes through village school teachers, Balavadi, Anganavadi, Mahila mandals, youth associations.

There are some maladies in our society. We wish to become big without sweating. One wishes to become very rich by any means. This type of despire is prevailing in our society. This is not proper. Our war must be against disease, hunger, illiteracy, poverty, corruption, goondaism. We want to think and plan about our goals during the next 50 years. We have to prepare programmes for the next decade and decide now we can take our nation forward. Let our achievements lead us from darkness to light.



SHRI ASHOK ARGAL

SHRI ASHOK ARGAL (Murena) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, convening a function to celebrate the golden jubilee year of independence is an occasion to renew our memories of a glorious history once again. This occasion is an effort to pay our respect and homage to the thousands of martyrs of freedom struggle. It is an occasion to join those crores of people whose sacrifice and martyrdom brought freedom to India. But today the whole situation has deteriorated and is in total chaos. As far as the environment is concerned, the period of past 150 years is quite significant in the history of human civilisation. On the one hand during this period of history, the human brain has accumulated unlimited resources of luxury and comfort and on the other hand it has evolved systems for annihilation of the whole civilisation. Deforestation has on the one hand reduced the sentimental and necessary biological attachment with the trees and plants and on the other hand it has altered the ecological balance between the land, trees, water, environment and human beings. The solid and gaseous waste of vehicles and factories contrived to further disturb this balance. The unequal distribution of economic resources in human society has not only forced the majority of the population to be involved in this type of development to save their existence but also they understood that industrialisation is necessary for the protection of human existence and whose ill effects are being faced by the majority of poor and middle classes of the population alone.

The history of so-called economic reforms and economic liberalisation is nearly six years old. Economic reforms were initiated in 1991. But after the defeat of Rajiv Gandhi i.e. in 1989 the discussions about the liberalisation in the field of economy was initiated. When the Maruti car came on the roads of India then a lot of foreign goods became popular all of a sudden. Actually the 'Consumerism' started in India with the arrival of Rajiv Gandhi.

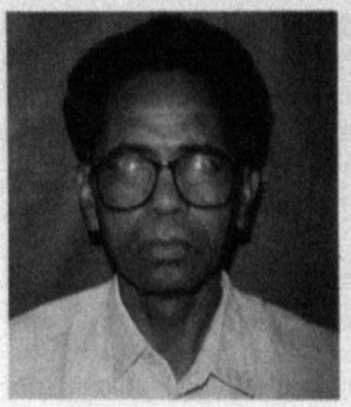
With the advent of June, 1991 India was on the verge of economic bankruptcy. The main reason for this bankruptcy was the cynical attitude of the bosses who held the reigns of power in their hands and have looted the public exchequer according to their whims and fancies. It is an amazing coincidence that on the one hand we are celebrating the fiftieth year of independence and at the other hand the policy makers of our country are preparing to mortgage, the economic independence of India in the hands of America and World Trade Organisation. The way in which the Finance Minister of India has compromised the interest of India last month is nothing but sheer treachery with the poor people of this country. He was not in a position to do anything against the pressure of western countries. Even he was unable to hold discussion on small and medium industries. Infact which have a greater importance as compared to big industries in the Indian context.

It is unfortunate that in the meeting of World Trade Organisation in December, 1996, inspite of the initiation of discussion on the anti dumping policies in the meeting India failed to clear any effective proposal while due to prevailing anti dumping attitude of India. India's international trade was adversely affected recently.

On 15 August hon. Prime Minister talked about launching of a new type of 'Satyagrah' for the elimination of

corruption. I think that in these fifty years those persons are responsible for the rising corruption who are in the Government for the last fifty years, they must take responsibility for the rising corruption. All the same, I can see the prevailing situation, India's bureaucracy is primarily responsible, for the rising corruption because they enjoy full powers and they misuse it for their whims and fancies. They are involved in the dirty politics as the Prime Minister has said that whether it is the issue of purchasing or officially it is the issue of tax they commit treason with the country in greed of bribe. Whether it is related to custom he has warned one and all. I would like to draw his attention towards my parliamentary constituency Murena, where the system is collapsed due to bureaucracy and the collector there became a dictator and they are laughing at the panchayati raj system. There is nobody to listen to the grievances of poor people. The district administration would not pay attention to the requests of elected municipal legislators. The collector feels insulted in talking to the public representatives of the area. They are threatened. I am also a sufferer. Collector of Murena has created an atmosphere of terror instead of peace in the city. This is not the situation in Murena only but this situation is prevailing in the other parts of the State also. Such type of people should be taught a lesson. I would like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister in this regard. He has said about the launching of a movement against the corruption from the Red Fort. You have promised to teach a lesson to such culprits. I would like to draw his attention towards myself. I have raised the issue of corruption against the collector of Murena. The whole Murena administration is corrupt due to the collector of Murena. When I raised this matter they have filed a defamation suit against me in the court. What will happen to this country in this way. I appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to take action in this regard. When a collector behaves in such a manner with a representative of people then how will they be behaving with the hoi polloi. This can be understood easily. Sir, in this connection I want to attract your attention to your speech that accountability of Executive towards Legislative is completely broken and such tendencies are constantly increasing that cases of their complaints against public servants are being taken into courts. It should be changed.

Fifty years have elapsed. Today, our educational system is completely shattered. There was a time when foreign students would stand in queue for admission in Nalanda. Today, we see disparity in education. Now-a-days, we see on the one hand a student sits in AC rooms and pays fee of Rs. 15 thousand per month, and the other student does not have the roof of a school in his lot.



SHRI SODE RAMAIAH

*SHRI SODE RAMAIAH (Bhadrachalam) : Mr. Speaker Sir, my parliamentary constituency, Bhadrachalam consists of seven Assembly segments, spread over four districts. They are Paderu and Chintapalli in Visakhapatnam District; Elavaram in East Godavari District; Polavaram and Gopalapuram in West Godavari District and Bhadrachalam and Burgam Pahad segments in Khammam District. Of these, six are represented by Scheduled Tribe MLAs and one has been reserved for Scheduled Castes. My Parliamentary constituency is full of dense forests. During monsoons Shabari, Godavari, Kinnerasani and Seleru rivers overflow inundating the entire area. People are subjected to untold miseries. Majority of the people living in this constituency belong to Scheduled Tribes. Cultivation is the main vocation here. Even after 50 years of our independence, people in this area do not have even the minimum basic facilities such as transportation, electricity, education and health. Even to this day, they are cut off from the rest of the world due to the absence of roads and transportation. When they fall sick, they depend on the locally available herbs and finally they succumb to their ailments. There are no hospitals, no doctors, and no treatment even to this day in this area. The State and the Central Government allocate crores of rupees for the development of this area. This is being swallowed by the middlemen. People are deprived of development.

Four tribal development corporations are functioning in my parliamentary constituency at present. But they are not of much use to the tribals. Corruption is rampant in these organisations. Only those who bribe get jobs here. Many of those who are employed in these organisations are non-tribals. Whenever the vacancies arise, these non-tribal employees managed to squeeze in their own near and dear ones. Thus many of Scheduled Tribe educated young men and women jobless. Scheduled Tribes get the jobs rarely that too at the lowest rung. I demand that they should be provided with jobs. Doles should be given to those who are not who employed.

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*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Telugu.

1. The Central and State Government should conduct a special survey in this area and provide them with education, health, electricity and transport facilities. Loans should be offered through banks to those who are engaged in agriculture.

2. Lift irrigation schemes should be introduced on either side of the Shabani and Godavari rivers.

3. Surplus land should be distributed among the landless @ 5 acres.

4. Beedi leaf is abundantly available in and around Bhadrachalam and hence, a beedi factory should be set up in Bhadrachalam.

5. NTPC Plant should be taken up for construction at once at Manuguru.

6. The construction of Kovvur-Bhadrachalam railway line should be taken up immediately.

7. Pattas should be issued to confer right over the land to 'Podu' cultivators.

8. STD facility should be provided in the remote places namely Vajedu, Venkatapuram, Charla, Chinturu, Kunavaram, Velerupadu, Kukkunuru mandals.

9. All the tribals should be provided with SPR houses.

10. The salaries of anganwadi teachers and ayas should be hiked to Rs. 1000 and Rs. 5000 respectively with immediate effect.

11. Pattas should be provided to the poor to grow trees in the areas declared as Reserved Forest area and yet have no forest at all.

12. The construction of the project at Itchampalli on river Godavari as suggested by Dr . K. L. Rao should be taken up at once to develop Burgunipahad area in my constituency agriculturally.

13. A training centre to promote tribal culture should be located in Bhadrachalam Parliamentary constituency.

14. A post graduate centre should be located at Bhadrachalam.

15. The Central Government should set up an agricultural training centre exclusively for the tribal farmers.

16. There should be a comprehensive legislation to safeguard the interests of agricultural workers.

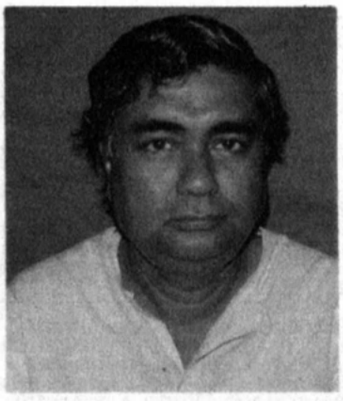
17. The Transfer of Land Act (1/70) should be amended suitably to extend purchase and sale transactions to non-tribals also.

18. Project should be constructed at Nelakota in Khammam District of Andhra Pradesh.

19. A halt should be provided for Navjeevan Superfast Express at Bellampalli in Adilabad District, where many coal mines are located.

20. Tamil Nadu Superfast Express should halt at Ramagundam since Karimnagar is an industrial centre.

Thanking you for providing me an opportunity to speak, I conclude.



SHRI ANIL BASU

[English]

SHRI ANIL BASU (Arambagh) : Hon'ble Speaker Sir, In this Golden Jubilee Year of our Independence, this Special Session of this august House has been called to deliberate, to introspect the achievements and failures during last fifty years.

Sir, I thank you wholeheartedly for this Special Session, for your perception for bringing all sections of the House to some basic understanding regarding future of our Republic.

Sir, on this occasion, may I submit following points for kind consideration of yourself and that of the august house.

Sir, unemployment and poverty are two most important areas which require our utmost attention. Thirty seven

percent of our population is living below poverty line. More than 3 crores of educated youth are jobless. Besides there are 8 crores of population who have no work.

How to tackle this problem. During last fifty years wealth accumulated in the hands of selected few. Others were not benefited from Govt's policy. Development was concentrated in selected areas while vast areas, regions of the country were neglected creating regional imbalances, communal and separatist forces are very active to utilise frustration of our people to achieve their nefarious goals. Unity and integrity of the country is in danger.

Sir, these are the problems which we have to tackle if we want to progress.

Sir, the most important issue to improve the quality of life of our population is to increase the purchasing power of our people.

Sir, Land reform is the answer. Through land reform, purchasing power of millions and millions of rural population most SCs and STs can be improved creating a demand for industrial goods.

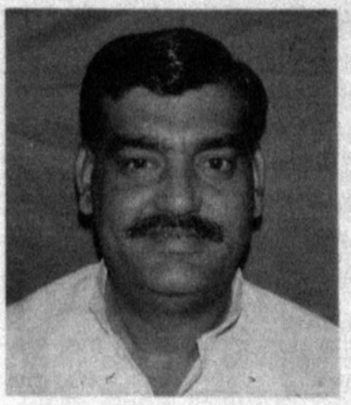
Land reform and Co-operatives are the two most areas where we must give importance if we want to expand domestic market which is basis for industrialisation.

Co-operatives would provide credit, inputs for the poor and marginal farmers so that they can improve their productivity. Sir, I would like to emphasise that purchasing power of our population is the key area of our economy. If the purchasing power of population remains low, then industrialisation would suffer and whatever industrial goods we produce, there would be few purchasers making the industrial sector unviable.

Sir, I therefore, urge that land reform and co-operatives be given top most priority.

Sir, ours is a developing country. But our infrastructure sector has not developed satisfactorily.

In power sector, we are giving importance to private sector. Sir, we require good quality of power at affordable price. In electricity sector per unit cost of electricity generated and transmitted by private sector is high. This would make our industry non-competitive. We have no rational fuel policy. Every type of fuel, specially costly fuel like Naphtha, is being allowed to produce power in the private sector. Sir, we need a comprehensive integrated power policy keeping the interest of power and country at top.



SHRI NARENDRA BUDANIA

[Translation]

SHRI NARENDRA BUDANIA (Churu) : Honourable Speaker, Sir, first of all, I pay my heartiest congratulations for calling this special session of Parliament on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee being celebrated after fifty years of our Independence. This is the appropriate occasion for assessment of the progress we have made what did we loose what have we achieved during the last 50 years of the Independence of the country and whether the institution and policies framed in last 50 years are in our favour. You have given us a chance for self-introspection for which you deserve thanks.

I pay my homage to those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for the Independence of the country. They participated in the struggle to break the shackles of slavery of Bharatmata. I am among those fortunate citizens who are enjoying the fruits of the sacrifice of the freedom fighters. I am pleased that the Congress party, of which I am a member struggled for Independence and won Independence for India contributed its active cooperation for progress of the country. Credit goes to the Congress party for development and progress achieved by us in fifty years after Independence. Today it is an occasion when we should pay attention towards our shortcomings and undeveloped areas alongwith progress and development. I will restrict my speech to important issues like agriculture, population, problems of the youth, language, poverty, illiteracy and economy etc.

Sir, our country was facing foodgrains crisis at the time of Independence. We had to depend on foreign countries for the supply of foodgrains. For this we had to enter into the agreement PL 480 with America which was insulting and dangerous for our integrity. Can farmers brought about Green Revolutionary under the leadership of our late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and made India self-reliant in food-grains. Previously we had the capacity of production 50 million tonnes foodgrains but now after the Green revolution, we are producing 190 million tonnes. Today we are producing only to fill our stomach but we are

exporting wheat and rice to several countries also, which is a great achievement in itself. Alongwith this we have to accept this fact that where our farmer of this country made self-reliant in foodgrains by his sweat, what did we provide to farmers. Today, thousands of acres of land is unirrigated. During these 50 years, we could not provide water for irrigation of our fields. Today we are not able to provide good quality seeds, fertilizers at cheaper rates and pesticides. Its main reason is the minimum allocation of budget for agriculture. Today the position is such that we are expending hardly 5 per cent of the total budget on agriculture. There are 29 agriculture universities and 46 agriculture research institutions in the country which are very few in view of our vast land. If we have to progress in agriculture, water to each field, electricity for irrigation, good quality seeds and fertilizer on cheaper rate and pesticides of high quality will have to provide. Alongwith this research and technical institutions of high standard for providing high technique to farmers will have to be set up. Experiments done in these institutions may not be kept only in laboratories, but the farmers are to be made aware of these new experiments so that capacity of foodgrains may be increased according to increasing population of the country.

Sir, today we get 17 quintal per hectare in irrigated area in our country while it is 35 quintal per hectare in developed countries which we shall have to achieve then also farmers of our country will be able to progress. Our farmer is the most hard working farmer in the world but we are not extending him as much help as is needed by him. We are predominantly an agricultural country and farmers are the backbone of our economy and, hence we must take all measures to protect the farmers. But the farmers are not getting even the minimum support price. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the government to ensure that the farmers get remunerative price for their produce. The Government should take all necessary steps to help the farmers.

Sir, 80 per cent of our population lives in villages. Of this 80 per cent, 90 per cent depend on agriculture. But we have not paid attention to the development of villages during these 50 years. There are no roads in the villages nor are there hospitals and dispensaries for public health. In the absence of communication facilities, the people are migrating from villages to cities. At the time of Independence, the population living below poverty line was 18 crore which has today risen to 38 crore. This number is rising year after year. Majority of them are farmers, labourers and farm workers. Adequate number of schools are not there in villages. If there is an school, there are no teachers and if there are teachers, there is no school building. Spread of education is at a very low key. The gulf between the rich and the poor is widening instead of lessening. This gulf will continue to widen as long as the sons of farmers do not occupy the key posts and offices entrusted with the policy formulation. Therefore, the official machinery must venture into villages. The country cannot become prosperous so long as all round development of villages is not undertaken. India can never progress if our villages continue to be poor. Therefore, we must direct our attention to the development of villages instead of concentrating our efforts to the development of cities.

Sir, the population of our country is growing at a very rapid pace. We have crossed 90 crore figure and the day does not seem to be far when we shall overtake China in this race. That will make us number one in this field in the world. Our population is going at the rate of 2 per cent per annum and one crore 80 lakh numbers are added to our population every year. This is a horrible situation. This growth of population is one of the major hindrances in our development and hence, we shall have to take some concrete steps to contain this growth. This is high time that we must take a final decision on this subject. If we are to attain the heights of development, we must control our population swiftly, otherwise the benefit of our development will be neutralized by the growing population. If we fail to control our population, any number of houses we may build, any amount of electricity we may generate or any number of industries we may set up will be of no use as the benefits accruing there from shall be neutralized due to the impact of increasing population. Therefore, we should follow the 'two children norm' strictly unmindful of the consequences of the harsh decisions that we may have to take in this direction. There are many factors which have a bearing on fertility. Main among these factors are literacy among women, their position and earning capacity, their acceptability and their participation in family decisions. The most important thing is that women should be adequately empowered. Continuous efforts should be made to contain population growth.

Sir, education is proving to be the most potent weapon in containing the growth of population. Today, the number of illiterate people in our country is about 40 per cent. The rate of literacy among women is lower than that. Therefore, what is urgently needed in that we must take steps to make the people literate by spreading the literacy campaign on a wide ranging scale. In the past, we formulated a number of policies for the extension of education but these policies were not implemented sincerely. Primary education in our country is of utmost importance and essential and hence we should spend more on primary education. We should provide compulsory primary education to children without any gender bias. We should start a public compaign in order to remove illiteracy.

Sir, the best thing that has happened in our country in the post independence era is that our democracy has

emerged stronger. 82 other countries of the world too attained independence simultaneous to our independence, but in most of these countries, democracy is either dead or is on the verge of death. Contrary to it democracy in India has flourished and we have succeeded in holding fair and impartial elections democratically right from Panchayat level to Lok Sabha but whereas we have succeeded in democracy, muscle power and money power in elections have increased. Criminalisation of politics is not a good omen for the democracy in the country. We shall have to stop it through electoral reforms. An immediate action is needed to check this unfortunate trend. Goswami Committee recommendations should be implemented forth-with.

Sir, so far as reservation for women and backward classes is concerned, they are parts of our society and are socially and economically weak. Their case should be considered sympathetically. Election expenditure is growing recklessly. This is high time for the Government to bear the election expenditure. Necessary steps should be taken by the Government in this direction.

Sir, there cannot be two opinions that corruption must be checked in the country. But how to go about it? If we have to check corruption, we must trace its genesis. Corruption is prevalent not only in politics but in business also. There is rampant corruption in public and private sector. There is corruption in the field of education and it is there in the entire system.

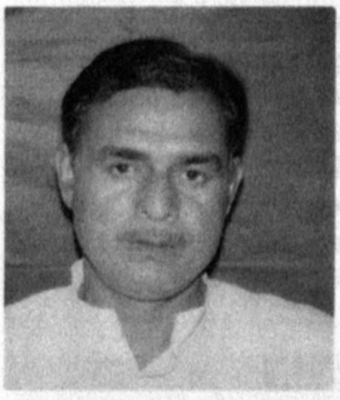
Sir, so far as infrastructure and economy is concerned, there are three challenges before us. First is how to curb the deficit. Second is how to provide adequate and reliable economic structure at minimum cost and finally, how to generate more employment opportunities in employment oriented fields like agriculture, industry and other areas. These challenges are the centre of our concern. It is essential to reduce the fiscal deficit of the Union Government to less than 4 per cent of the GDP. We have to continue with our tax reforms so that the revenue for GDP increases.

Sir, We should improve our targets and try to reduce subsidies. The Government has taken many initiatives to accelerate the progress of infrastructure in the field of power, communications, airports, civil aviation and irrigation. A determined effort should be made in this direction. Power shortage is adversely affecting the country's economy. This can be solved to a great extent by making the power tariff justifiable, including the private sector in power distribution sector, and revamping the State Electricity Boards so that they could be run on commercial basis. The oil deficit is increasing day by day. 85 per cent of the railway lines were laid before Independence. The development in the fields of surface transport, sea transport and civil aviation has not been encouraging.

Sir, the main concern today is of making improvements and reforms. These should be done in all those fields and areas where the situation so demands. This is the path to progress and is not a process which is based on mere principle. Time does not wait for anyone, so we will have to work determinedly in the next few months in this direction. We cannot continue to postpone decisions in the matter of those policies and practices which we deem good for this country. We need to have 30 per cent rate of savings which many countries have already achieved. There is need to make efforts in this direction through the Basic Minimum Needs Programme and basic Infrastructure Programme.

Sir, I would like to thank the Leader of Opposition Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee for having moved this Motion in this special session, as a result of which there is every likeli-hood to stop the Members from coming to the well of the House demanding suspension of question hour and indulging in other interruptions. This would improve the image of the hon. Members in the minds of people to a great extent because now everything is televised and it has an impact on the minds of people.

Sir, I am grateful that I have been provided an opportunity on this historic occasion to express my views. With these words, I conclude.



SHRI LAL BABU PRASAD YADAV

SHRI LAL BABU PRASAD YADAV (Gopalganj) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to pay tributes to all those martyrs who sacrificed their lives during the freedom struggle. I want to say a few words about science and technology, mainly in regard to brain drain. Is it an irony of fate or our own fault that during the half century after Independence, we have achieved a lot but we have lost too much. We have progressed a lot in the field of education. Education has spread from the cities to the villages and rural areas. The rural people no more put thumb impression as they now to put their signature but this cannot be termed as progress in the real sense of the term.

There is difference between study and research. Literacy has spread but research activities have come to grinding

halt. Laboratories equipped with sophisticated and state-of-art equipment have been set up but even then the country is deprived of international level research work.

Prior to Independence, scientists like Dr. Raman and Dr. Ramanuj had become world renowned for their work but today inspite of mushroom growth of universities and research centres, we have not been able to produce one scientist of that calibre. Where does the fault lie? Why is there brain drain?

Many Indians have shown their talent in other countries. Why have we failed in checking the brain drain? Efforts should be made to know the root cause of all this. Due to lack of facilities, apathy of the government in India and the basic facilities, jobs and money being offered by the Western countries to talents from India, the Indian geniuses and scientists have little choice except to make it to foreign countries where lucrative careers await them. Our government is proving unequal to the task of providing them the facilities at par with those of the foreign countries. In incident times foreign citizens and scholars used to come to the Nalanda University of Bihar in pursuit of learning, contrary to that the Indian citizens now go abroad for purposes of learning. Many Indian talents have become inclined to go abroad in view of the neglect on the part of the Government. One of such Indian talents is Dr. Hargovind Khurana who since received the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine in 1968. There are numerous such examples of improper treatment meted out to talented people. The living example of such treatment is the pathetic condition of world renowned mathematician Dr. Bashist Narayan Singh. If these conditions still do not receive the Government's attention, its dream of the 21st century will ever remain unfulfilled.

SHRIMATI PHOOLAN DEVI

SHRIMATI PHOOLAN DEVI (Mirzapur) : Mr. Speaker Sir, On the occasion of this special session to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, at the outset I bow to these great sons of India who sacrificed their all in bringing independence to India.

Today we are free. After attaining freedom we have not been able so far to provide the basic necessities of food, clothing, shelter, education and justice to the poorest of the poor citizen of the country as a result of which there is discontentment today among the people. We must make a firm resolve today that we shall win the people's trust in order to regain their lost confidence in our leaders and Government of the country and for that purpose we would make arrangement for education, medicine, food, clothing, shelter, justice and jobs equally to all.

All people acted with devotion and in unison in the country's freedom struggle and that brought us success and in the post-independence period we can re-achieve what we have lost only when every fellow countryman treats it as his own and strive for its progress.

SHRIMATI SHEELA GAUTAM

SHRIMATI SHEELA GAUTAM (Aligarh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, fifty years have gone by since we achieved freedom. I am happy to be a member of the Parliament which was the dream of our forefathers. I used to hear the tales of the freedom struggle from my mother's mouth. My father had plunged in that struggle in the year 1920. He kept struggling in Punjab along Lala Lajpat Rai. I heard the memoirs of that time from my mother. Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil used to come and stay at our house for an hour or two and before leaving, used to hand over a letter or drop a message with instructions to deliver or convey it to certain place or person the day after. Bhagwati Charan Vohra had died while making bomb on the banks of river Tapti. I also had an opportunity to live with his wife Smt. Durga Vohra who used to be called 'Bhabhi' by one and all. I learnt much from her. India was not free at the time and the enthusiastic fighters for the country's freedom were not sure whether they will be able to see a free India. A number of freedom fighters became martyrs for the cause. Hearing about all that was blissful experience. On the day of 1947 when the Britishers quit India, the sight of our tricolor unfurling at Rashtrapati Bhawan and Parliament House brought tears of joy in our eyes.

Then came the phase of independence bringing with it the hopes that we will rejoin now what we had lost, but what are the achievements and failures of the last fifty years, what we had thought of a free India, could not be fulfilled with the passage of time. Till date we have lagged behind in the field of education which should have been our first goal, even today schools are not there in every village, in a number of villages schools are there for namesake only somewhere without roofs, somewhere without dress, somewhere without teachers or with just one or two teachers who do not observe punctuality nor teach properly. Mr. Speaker, Sir, one is pained to this beyond words. It is even worse in the case of girls. Due care is not given to their education. Was that our dream?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, even today can the absence of roads and shortage of water, electricity, health centres in the villages be counted as our achievements of fifty years? Non-cleansing of canals, execution works on paper only, misappropriation of money and levelling of charges by villagers on leaders, the Government and the administration while seeking amenities from them, rampant corruption. When I go to the village I find the grandmother or the aunt complaining that though their villages is yet to be electrified and so the TV sets received in their children's marriage remain idle. Tell us, daughter, they ask, is this what we call freedom? It is true that we have made much progress in many fields. Our men with talents whether they be doctors, scientists, or engineers are much in demand abroad and doing their jobs creditably. Even if they want to return, they will not similar facilities here. They come to India but again go back with the impression that the overall working conditions there are better. Here, corruption obstructs the way at every step. A person who wants to open a Nursing Home or set up a factory, has to pay bribe at every level. Giving an amount of Rs. 50/- to the peon would help to get an early appointment with the concerned officer; giving bribe to the clerk would help in forwarding the file. These complications upset the person to such an extent that he goes back to the foreign country. So much so that he finds himself unable to get his children admitted in school without donation. Are these the qualities of our great India?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is true that we have made progress in many fields. For instance, in the field of science BHEL was set up, a number of factories with most sophisticated equipments, we have also moved ahead in the field of oil exploration etc. However, we have not been able to control floods or draught.

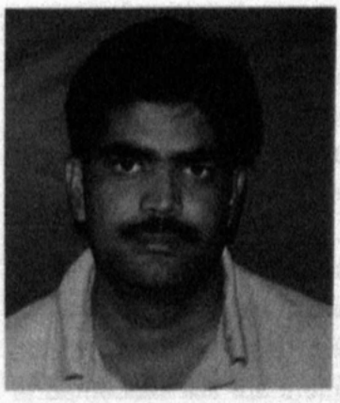
Today, a number of multinational companies are coming to India. A number of members have referred to the issue. Despite being aware of the ill-effects of these companies, we are inviting them. Our country is gifted with vast assets. Today we are best in the field of cottage industry. But what efforts have been done by the Government to promote it? The Government should formulate a policy to encourage this industry and provide financial assistance or loan to those who need it. It is not the duty of the Government to provide such assistance to them?

Our armed forces are deployed on the borders. But, whether the facilities being provided to them are sufficient? Should the Government not consider to provide adequate facilities to them. China and Pakistan have captured a large portion of our land which we have not been able to acquire so far whether our forces are incapable or we do not want to get it back? Mr. Speaker, Sir, we feel extremely sorry about it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, increasing population cause imbalance in our budget. The Government should take a corrective measure by enforcing a law in this regard. Unemployment is vast spread in our country. We will have to create more and more employment opportunities and train the unemployed for self employment. Despite giving assurances, the Government have not been able to eradicate poverty, rather the poor suffer the most.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to discuss many more points, but in short, I would like to submit that only by taking stringent measures against corruption and unemployment and by controlling the population, we would be really celebrating Golden Jubilee of an Independence. Mr. Speaker, Sir, a criteria should also be fixed for the persons to contest Parliamentary elections.

On the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebrations, I would also like to submit that it would be a great achievement if the Government consider the matter of providing 33 per cent reservations to women.



MOHAMMAD SHAHABUDDIN

MOHAMMAD SHAHABUDDIN (Siwan) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today, I am expressing my views in writing. I have been listening to the views expressed by the hon. Members in this special session and contemplated over it. All the matters discussed here were important. In my opinion, no matter to

be discussed is left any more. I have come to the House for the first time. The atmosphere in all the sittings of this special session in which we participated was calm and cool. All the hon. Members expressed their deep concern over corruption in politics and also criminalisation of politics and offered their suggestions to control the situation and take the country on the path of progress. All the hon. Members gave very good suggestions but some suggested the ways which, if adopted may take the country to the top position among the developing countries. I am surprised when a individual claims to be honest. Does honesty mean merely not taking bribe or does it mean something else. Taking bribe is something very nominal. Dishonesty really means to shirk the duties, disobeying the constitutional provisions and not remaining loyal to the country. I feel that if a person is completely a nationalist, he is the noblest person. I would like to quote a small example in this regard.

After the second world war, Japan, which is a very small country (smaller than even our one state) was completely destroyed by the attack of Alliance Forces. In the mean time our country got freedom. In that way, both the countries started the journey at the same time. But today there is a big difference in the place of development of both the countries. Why is it so? In my opinion the only cause for it is the lack of patriotism and nationalism. An entrepreneur in this country does not manufacture the goods with an inspiration to provide the best so that the country earns a good name in the world market. Rather, he is more concerned about the profit. Whereas a Japanese while manufacturing even a minor commodity like needle ensures that he provides his best so that his country earns a good name in the world market. They have patriotic and nationalistic feelings of Indians also develop similar feelings and patriotism they can achieve greater heights of success.

Some of the hon. Members have pointed out that the farmers and labourers in our country are most dedicated to their work. However, I do not agree to this. For, the day our farmers and labourers work with dedication, our country would make all-round progress, the day the farmer would develop nationalistic feeling over the personal interests, we would become self reliant. In some states the farmers have achieved higher targets and made their state self reliant, whereas in some states the farmers are still concerned to produce only to satisfy their own needs. They make no efforts to produce more than that, because they have no inspiration than to satisfy their our needs if at all, they are inspired by nationalistic feelings, they may achieve higher targets of production.

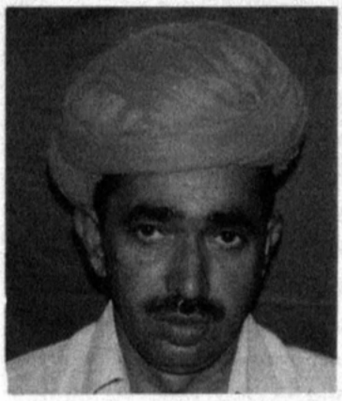
Another issue raised today in the House has been the criminalisation of politics, which is something very serious. It should be discussed seriously and the situation should also be controlled. However, the major problem is how to identify the person having criminal character. In this regard either the police case against the individual should be considered as an evidence or the House should conduct an enquiry at its own level. Another alternative is that the matter should be forwarded to the Election Commission. In my view, taking the police cases into consideration would not be proper. I think there is hardly any member in this House who does not have any case lodged against him in police. All the Members would be out of this House in this manner.

One of the hon. Members was speaking on the Babri-Masjid issue. Such religious matters are also hurdles in the progress of the country. These matters should be solved. My submission is that if any historian proves that temple of Lord Ram was there at the disputed place, the Muslims should withdraw their claim over it. Because it has been closely started in our religion that Muslims should give that much respect to other religious places as they give to their own religious places. Our God says that even if you with in the battlefield, you should give respect to the religious places of that region in the same manner the devotees of that religion do. In such a situation there is no question that mosque is constructed on the temple place. If at all this is proved, we would have no claim over it, otherwise, the Government should hand over the place to us.

If at all, the country is to make all-round development the foremost thing would be hundred per cent literacy, for which, concrete measures would have to be taken to make education cheap and easily accessible. The biggest hurdle in our development is the lack of education and ignorance the masses and it should be removed.

If we compare ourselves with other countries, we find that although we have not been able to make progress as compared to other countries, yet, we have left them far behind as far as population is concerned. The population of no other country has increased in the proportion as that of India, and this has been virtually a great hurdle in our progress. Population growth has become a great challenge to us. This is all due to illiteracy and ignorance there is a need to take concrete measures to control the situation. Though a number of schemes are being implemented to control population but the result is just not the reason is that the schemes are not implemented effectively. The Government should take measures to implement the schemes effectively.

Today, human values have been sacrificed for the sake of politics, popularity, caste, creed and religion. The need of the hour is to nourish these values again. If we want our country to develop, everybody would have to take pledge not to confront on religion and work together for the interest of the country. So that our country achieves greater heights of progress. With these words I conclude.



SHRI PARASRAM MEGHWAL

SHRI PARASRAM MEGHWAL (Jalore) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, our country has completed 50 years of independence. I would like to raise the issues of India's farmers. Industrialists are free to fix the prices of their products in which profits are included but our farmers cannot fix the price of foodgrains which they produce after putting so much of labour. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to make this point as to how this could not be possible even after 50 years of independence. We need to be concerned about it.

Government provides employment to agricultural labourers through wellknit schemes, but so far no system has been evolved to ensure them timely payment. This is because they are poor and illiterate. At times, their payments are not made even after two-three months. Inspite of 50 years of independence we have not done what we had promised to them. There should be a change in this attitude.

The district collectors are the presidents of district level committees while the Member of Parliament is only a Member in them. This is insulting for a Member of Parliament should not be a Member of any Committee which is presided by a collector.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have done a commendable job calling this special session, but I would like to remind that every member wants to express his views in the House. Do they not have a freedom of speech even today? We are compelled to place our views in writing. Perhaps, we do not have a right to speak what we want to suggest.

SHRI RAJKESHAR SINGH

SHRI RAJKESHAR SINGH (Jaunpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today is the sixth day of the special session which has been convened to mark the 50th anniversary of our independence. This is a matter of pride for citizens of this country. The proceedings of the special session to mark the Golden Jubilee Celebration of our independence are being live telecast. This is the time to ponder ever our achievements of these 50 years.

Sir, we listened to the views of hon. President and the hon. Prime Minister as well as of other senior leaders. The people throughout the country watched them on television. Today the feeling of patriotism is apparently missing. This change has come in the last fifty years. Subhas Chandra Bose, Chandra Shekhar Azad and several others are examples. Freedom fighters of Jaunpur district Uttar Pradesh which include martyrs like Jamindar Singh, Ram Naresh Singh, Dr. Hargobind Singh, Pt. Bhagotti Deen Tiwari, Rajdeo Singh and several others whose names are not being mentioned had set examples. Time to time they are remembered not only by the people of that district but also by the entire nation.

Today, the young generation hears the news about corruption, scandals and all that and consequently patriotic feeling is not developing in them. When the Prime Minister, Chief Minister or persons occupying responsible posts are facing charges of embezzlement and corruption, each and every citizen of the country is bound to bear this burden which ultimately will prove detrimental to the country.

The Central Government has declared several schemes to promote literacy, but they are being implemented on papers alone as a formality. Efforts should be made to enhance the standard of education. However, our present day politicians try to encourage copy in examinations. The condition of primary schools is pitiable.

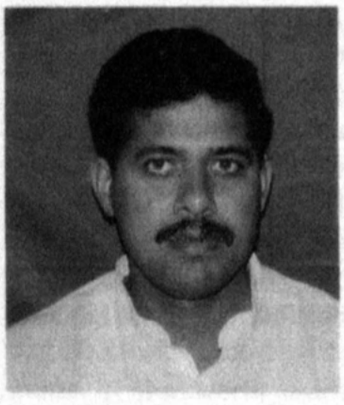
Uttar Pradesh which is the largest state in the country has given maximum number of Prime Minister, yet there has been no development in the state. There is no primary

health centre in remote areas. Even in those places, where primary health centre is available, doctors shirk to go there. As a result of this, people of rural areas are coming to cities.

Rural youths have to go here and there in search of employment and yet they are not able to find any job. The problem of unemployment has left them depressed. Parents try to provide costly education to their wards but, they are committing suicide for want of job.

India is predominantly an agriculture based country. The farmers have to pay a very high price for the fertilizer labour and electricity. They have to work hard but bureaucrats formulate policies for them while sitting in air-conditioned rooms. This has pushed the farmers in a very pathetic condition.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, unless we think about all these aspects, we cannot ensure the development of the country. Government should provide help to make them self-dependent and this benefit should reach to the last man.



SHRI GIRDHARI YADAV

SHRI GIRDHARI YADAV (Banka) : Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, I express my gratitude to you for calling a special session on the eve of 50th anniversary of independence. Many Members have expressed their views in this House. I am putting my views in writing.

Although we have made progress in the field of education, yet the provision of providing compulsory education to the children upto the age of 14 years contained in the Constitution has not been fulfilled. It is very unfortunate for the country.

In our country higher education is uniform but same is not the case with primary and secondary education. Education in I.I.Ts., Medical, Engineering colleges and Universities is more or less of same standard whereas primary and secondary education is different. Primary and secondary education should also be uniform for all the children. Those boys and girls who complete their primary and secondary education should be admitted for higher education. Basic education policy will have to be changed and there should be a uniformity in primary and secondary education.

India is the second largest country in the world in terms of population. Our economy has considerably contributed to the population growth. Being an agrarian country, illiterate and poor people treat more children as more working hands. They are less concerned about their children's education and health, so they go on procreating. Our's is a superstitions society which also contributes in population growth. Poor and illiterate people have been made to strongly believe that last rites performed by son only will bring salvation 'Moksha' for him and their lineage will not continue without son. Growth of population can be checked by giving equal status to both boys and girls. Very often poor and illiterate people give birth to as many as five or even more daughters in the hope of a male child. This is a major factor in the population growth of our country.

The following steps should be taken for the population control. A law should be enacted to prohibit those persons from contesting any election who have more than two children. This should also be applicable on all government and semi government employees.

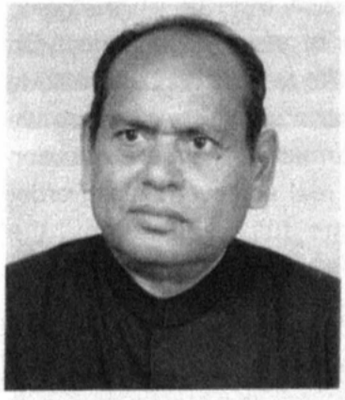
I would also like to say something regarding judiciary. Today's judicial system is more corrupt than police administration. In lower courts readers take bribe in the presence of Magistrate and the latter keeps silent on such acts. In the upper courts also, Judges indulge in such acts through lawyers though there are some honest judges also of whom the country is proud. Lawyers are also exploiting the poor sections of the society. Lawyers take heavy fees from his client on every date in court even if the latter's work is not done and he has to pay again for the next date. This causes immense hardship and harassment for poor and illiterate people.

Caste system is causing decay of our society. The higher the post one holds, the more casteist he is. In the beginning, when the upper caste people were practising casteism, there was no hue and cry over it, but at present when backward classes became aware and began fighting for their rights, these upper caste people started branding them as casteists. I suggest upper caste people to look into themselves, and judge for themselves as to who is more casteist. Today, people belonging to backward classes, minorities, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have woken up and can not be suppressed any more.

Corruption is spreading like cancer in our country. Eradicating corruption from our country has become an uphill task. You can not get any work done without corruption. People are directly concerned with the lower strata employees such as Patwari, Karmchari, Panchayat Sevak, Block development officer, police station incharge etc. Eighty per cent of population in our country will get relief if only these lower level employees are put under discipline. The illiterate and poor people of our country do not know nor can they understand the corruption rampant at higher places.

Electoral process is very much expensive in this country. As long as parliamentary system of Government will continue in this country, corruption can not be contained. I would suggest the Presidential form of Government for the country. That system would help in solving many of the problems of this country.

All the appointments in the judiciary, are being done till now on the basis of recommendation. A Judiciary Services Commission should be set up and judges should be appointed through this commission.



SHRI MUNNI LAL

[English]

SHRI MUNNI LAL (Sasaram) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration Independence of Independent India is being celebrated and being a new Member in Lok Sabha I like to say something quite in short about the national predicament which has over-powered the country in its various spheres. Sir, currently many issues are faced by this big nation which is called "Bharat" and even after lapse of 50 years no positive sign of development is visible or perceiveable and in every sphere of life picture appears to be gloomy. It will need much time to elaborate the problems in detail but I would like to mention a few of them which are eating away into the every vitals of the nation.

Firstly, the problem of corruption and secondly the problem of reservation. These two factors are responsible for creating cleavage and tension in the society and have given birth of several problems in the field like economic, political, social and cultural, environmental, etc. The entire nation will have to fight out corruption and it should be axed at the very root of source of corruption. What I feel that corruption stems from the higher political position and unless higher political position is corrected the corruption which has percolated down below the root of society cannot be eradicated. Unless political system will be honest no system in whatsoever be it good or pious can be established. Hence, this august Parliament has marathon task of eradicating corruption and it can be initiated only at this level. Our Hon. Prime Minister used to emphasise times without number in that the functioning of his Government will be transparent. But I am sorry to submit before you, Sir, that no transparency is visible and the entire nation is in the state of frustration, desperation and helplessness with regard to corruption. So the entire political system needs modification, restructuring and drastic steps for eradication of corruption. Some stringent steps will have to be initiated by this august House to remove corruption at political level. If the politicians would be honest the entire corrupt system will be cleansed. In the absence of such a stringent step corrupt politician system cannot be cleansed. Sir, much can be said about this aspect of this corruption but what I like to suggest that some steps should be found out to put break on the politicians holding high position stopping them to indulge in corruption. Otherwise, the country will be always in lurch and nation will collapse.

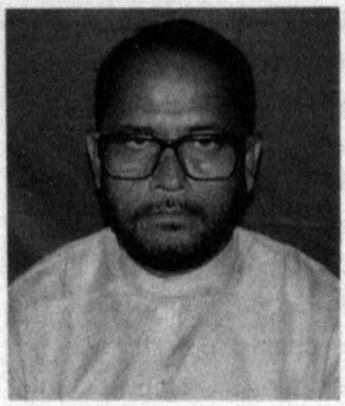
So far the reservation issue which has created a lot of tension in the society. This aspect has to be tackled tactfully. It will be creating problems spirally. The reservation issue has become so dangerous for the society as every caste, creed and citizen is striving hard to get reservation and this has created a piquant situation in the country and has also given rise to class tension difficult law and order problem. It is very correctly said by a eminent economist that "law and order is productive". Unless the law and order of the country is perfect no development can be dreamt of. This reservation policy has given rise to a political slogan to some of the political parties the social justice and social change. No doubt this is a very pious slogan but the direction of this slogan is misdirected in itself and this slogan has become a cheap and is being misinterpreted that it does not carry any weight in the country and it has been subjected

to a mockery. I like to quote one of the great political thinker, Mr. C.M. Goad who has said that "socialism has become like a felt that which has lost its shape because everybody has used it" likewise without appreciating and understanding the right meaning of social justice and social change it is sought to be practised. And it has also given impetus to various types of dirty developments like casteism. Casteism is more dangerous than communalism and it is also responsible for retarding speedy development of the nation.

Sir, every citizen of "Bharat" needs social justice but because it is wrongly interpreted it is demanded only for backward communities. Instead it should be for general masses irrespective of castes, creed and religion. So, I would like to request this august House that some suitable policy based on national consensus should be adopted and it should be implemented in its right perspective in order to wipe out the problem of reservation.

Thirdly, further I would like to say that growth rate of the country is presently 7 per cent that cannot be called a satisfactory growth. It should have been more accelerating but unfortunately our economic plan is not being formulated according to the efficient principle of planning. Planning needs three ingredients to be adopted. Firstly, the reaction of the entire nation for which plan is formulated. Unless the reaction of the people will be favourable to the plan no economic planning will be successful. Its implementation will not be efficient as it should be. Secondly, a stable Government is highly required for successful economic planning. And thirdly, an honest and efficient bureaucracy which will be responsible for implementation of the plan policy. Unless these three ingredients are adopted, absorbed and implemented no development will occur in the country and without development there will be no capital formulation in the country and if there is no capital formulation there will be no investment and if there is no investment no development in any economic sector and there will be no employment opportunity and if there is no employment opportunity in reservation policy will be futile and misnomer and dis-satisfaction among the youth of the nation will step up the trend in social tension.

These are the main problems of the nation apart from other problems if the corruption, casteism and unemployment will not be solved the nation will be doomed. Hence, I request this House to ponder over these issues very seriously and overcome the problem in the next coming years so that we may not lose another years as we have lost half century of our independence.



SHRI TASLIMUDDIN

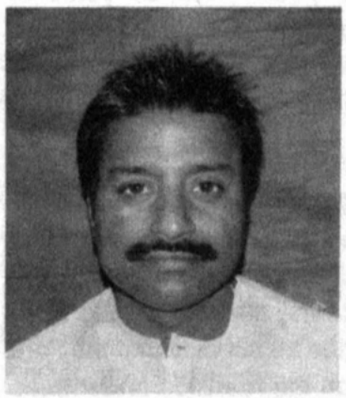
[Translation]

SHRI TASLIMUDDIN (Kishanganj) : Mr. Speaker. Sir, first of all I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to express my views. It is a good beginning that you have choose certain specific topics for discussion in this special session, when there is rampant corruption in the country and the bureaucrats and the fascists forces are making a mockery of democracy and democratic institutions. Even today the members are hesitating to express their views by rising above party affiliations. We feel that such discussions should be held in the legislative assembly of each State. Therefore the Speakers of the respective Legislative Assemblies should follow suit. Sir, we are going to celebrate the golden jubilee of our independence. On this occasion I would first of all like to express our gratitude to our farmers and the agricultural scientists because we have become self-reliant in the matter of food production due to their efforts. This is our real achievement. In order that the country may become fully self-reliant, the Government should address itself to the following.

Today, 40–45 per cent of our population lives below the poverty line. It is very essential to provide them with subsidised meals, free education, medical facility, nutritious meals to the children, meal atleast once a day and a roof over their head. If at all any effort was made to do something it has been frustrated due to corruption. The situation did not change even after independence. Dissensions are sought to be created in the society in the name of caste system, communalism and religious fanaticism which are hindrance in the removal of poverty. These come into play specially during elections. Such things tend to divide the nation. My suggestion in this regard is that there is a need to conduct 'Symbol election'. The parties whose symbols get maximum number of votes, should alone have the right to nominate Members. The Election Commission should try to get a law enacted to prevent the nomination of corrupt persons and those with criminal records. If this is done, then it would yield concrete results in poverty eradication, education, health, food, clothing and shelter. Today we are celebrating the 50th year of our independence. The announcements

made by the Government on this occasion fail to materialise. To achieve this, it is essential that a monitoring cell is set up by the Parliament. Corruption is eating into the vitals of our nation. On the other hand, the bureaucracy, overstepping its limits is trying to defame the politicians. Out of helplessness and due to abject poverty, the villagers are migrating to the cities. To remove poverty in villages, industries should be set up, self-employment should be encouraged and flood prevention schemes should be taken up. Shri Jaiprakash Narayanji, Shri Lohiaji and Shri Vinobaji had said that inspite of abundance of rivers water, greenery mango, leechi, milk-curd in our country, the village people are starving, Why is it so? What is needed in the proper exploitation of resources with appropriate technology to provide employment to all. In this way the villages would become self-sufficient and the nation would become strong.

Sir, at the time of independence, our father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi had said that we will build an egalitarian society, through social justice and social revolution. Is it being done today? But on the contrary, a handful of persons are indulging in atrocities, oppression, exploitation, corruption, casteism, communalism thereby the poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming richer. This has given rise to terrorism Punjab, Kashmir and North-East are burning. The youths, instead of being won over with compassion are being shot dead. The youths cannot be won over in this way. This problem can only be solved through love and affection. Otherwise, no one can save the nation from disintegration.



SHRI VINAY KATIYAR

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR (Faizabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, while taking part in the discussion going on in this House on the occasion of golden jubilee celebration of Independence, I, through this House, would like to draw the attention of the whole country towards some important issues.

Recently several important judgments have been given by the judiciary in public interest cases. While expressing my regard for judiciary. I would also like to mention that villagers, poor people and farmers are not getting benefit of judiciary and not only that but poor people and villagers are facing great difficulties due to their judgements.

I would like to cite a couple of examples to clarify my points. The august Supreme Court has given a judgement on 12.12.96 in case of T.N. Godaverman Thirumanpad versus Government of India and others on a writ petition filed by them. As per this judgement an order has been passed for strict imposition of provisions of Forest Conservation Act, 1980 and a ban has been imposed on felling of trees, taking foliage and foddar, mining or getting fuel from the forests.

This judgement has protected the law of the land but at the same time it has adversely affected the daily life of the poor labourers and farmers and made their lives miserable.

In the same way judgements given on writ petitions of Environmentalists have also added innumerable sufferings to public life. For example today poor labourer families are starving due to the order given for shifting of certain factories from Delhi. Likewise brick-kilns are not functioning properly because of fixing the height limit of chimney in brick kilns. This has benefited capitalists and affected rural employment.

While mentioning the directive principles, the founding fathers of the Constitution of India must have expected that successive Governments would implement them in future. But it is very sad that in place of framing a uniform civil code as has been given in the Article 44, in view of its impact on vote bank and policy of appeasement, the Government shies away from a discussion on this issue. As a result of it, the disparity among various communities and classes is increasing continuously.

The case of corruption have increased continuously during the past 50 years. Financial scams have become the order of the day. There is a big chain of scandals before us like Mundra scandal, jeep scandal, Bofors scandal, sugar scam, fodder scam, telephone scam, Urea scam, Indian Bank scam, Hawala scam and MP's bribery case. During freedom struggle, our countrymen used to sing a patriotic song:

"Aao Pyare Veero Aao,
Desh Dharm Per Bali-Bali Jao"

But what is happening today? The country got freedom but religion has become a controversial issue.

Cows are being slaughtered. Lord Krishna temple is in siege. The temple of Bhutbhavan Shankara is dishonoured in Kashi. Crores of devotees of Lord Rama are being presented from constructing a big temple, in Ayodhya.

Restrictions are being imposed on our religious practices. The venom of casteism is being spread in the society to get political unileage.

During the course of his reign Lord Rama accorded equal per cent status to all the sections and communities of the society. Nishadraj, Hanuman, Jatayu, the Gidhraj, Nal-Neel, Angad, Sugreeva, Shabri Mata, Maharishi Valmiki and Veda Vyas, all the famous personalities who belonged to various sections of the society helped in creating an ideal state which was known as Ramrajya, Mahatma Gandhiji had a dream of Ramrajya. What are the reasons for not realising this dream today?

While concluding, I demand that proper and uniform rules and law should be enacted for prosperity of villages, poor people and farmers so that everyone could get justice. There should be no policy of appeasement. There should be uniform civil code so that there is no feeling of discrimination. With these words I conclude.

SHRI CHHITUBHAI GAMIT

SHRI CHHITUBHAI GAMIT (Mandvi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, many issues have been discussed in the special session of Lok Sabha so far and I do not wish to repeat them.

The issue of backward classes of society and scheduled castes has not been raised properly during the discussion held during the past few days in the special session of Lok Sabha. I belong to tribal community and I represent a tribal area, hence I would like to put forth many views in this regard.

Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, we are celebrating 50th anniversary of Independence in our country. Development has indeed taken place in the country in the 50 years after Independence and the process would continue in the coming time also. A lot has been done so far and is being done and is even likely to be done for the welfare of Scheduled tribes. But we will have to admit that the tribals are still in a pitiable condition. 50 years have passed since we gained independence and even now the tribals are roaming around in forests hungry, unclad and surviving on the edible roots and are becoming the victim of poverty and unemployment. The total population of tribals in our country is 7 per cent. So far the tribal community has not been included in the national mainstream like other communities. Compared to the development that has taken place in the case of other classes of society, their progress has lagged behind.

The tribals are hardworking and strong but they are not being given the job opportunities which could help in their progress. The Government has provided very few facilities for generation of employment for the tribals in the tribal areas and these facilities are quite inadequate for ensuring progress of tribal community. The basic minimum facilities being provided for tribals in tribal areas are inadequate.

The drinking water facility has not been provided in the tribal villages. Tribal women fetch water from a distance of two-three kilometers and the water available is not suitable for health.

The facility of education is still inadequate in tribal areas. There are several such villages in the tribal areas where, if the schools have been opened, there is no building and if the building is there, there are no teachers to teach the students. That is why the literacy rate in case of tribals is quite lower than the national literacy rate and it is still lower in case of tribal women.

Seven per cent reservation of seats has been made for the tribals in Government jobs but it will become apparent on scrutinising the Reports of various Departments of the Union Government that very few people have actually been recruited for Group A, B, C, D posts. After 50 years of Independence only 2 to 3 per cent people have been recruited at Group 'A' and 'B' posts. It is very unfortunate that reservation quota for tribals in the Government jobs has not been filled.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, major irrigation projects are launched in the tribal areas which have an adverse effect on the life of the tribals, as a result of which the economic, social and family life of tribals is disrupted. The affected people have to look around for job opportunities for survival and they are forced to spend their life living on the roadside under trees during rain, summer and winter seasons. They are unable to get their children educated, as a result of which their children turn out to be only labourers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to say that in view of all the projects launched by the Central Government and the State Governments in the tribal areas, and which are likely to affect the tribals, a National policy should be formulated for rehabilitation of the tribals and the Government should take the responsibility of providing employment and all other facilities for their rehabilitation.

In view of all these points, I would like to make a few suggestions for their upliftment.

Concrete steps should be taken for providing employment and releasing full grants for the development of tribals under the Tribal sub plan.

Small scale industries and Khadi Gramodyog should be set up for providing employment in tribal areas.

The Government should issue instructions to fill the vacancies for tribals in the various departments of Central Government and State Government and all the Government undertakings.

The Union Government should take the responsibility for educating the tribals and Union Government should run the residential central schools and colleges, technical colleges for higher education.

School buildings should be provided for imparting primary education in each tribal villages and full strength of teachers should be ensured.

Wherever water is available for agricultural purposes, minor irrigation projects and lift irrigation projects should be launched by the Government and the tribals should be provided water supply for agriculture at cheaper rates.

The foodgrain produced by the tribals should be purchased by the Government in the grain markets so that the tribals are not exploited by the traders.

Government godowns be built up to procure foodgrains produced by the tribal farmers from time to time and adequate remunerating prices be given to them.

Cooperative societies be set up to provide loans to the tribals on easy rate of interest for animal husbandry, poultry and agricultural purposes.

Adequate arrangements should be made to provide financial assistance under Indira Avas Yojana to tribals for building up homes.

Forest based produce like Tendu leaves etc. should be collected and sold to the Government at remunerating prices by tribals only.

Metalled roads should be constructed in every tribal village.

Clean drinking water facility should be provided with in every tribal village. Primary health centres equipped with latest medical facilities and doctors should also be set up in every tribal village.

The Government should connect every village with electricity.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, through you, would request the Government to take concrete steps for tribal development at national level and bring them at par with other sections of society.

SHRI V. DHANANJAYA KUMAR

[English]

SHRI V. DHANANJAYA KUMAR (Mangalore) : Respected Speaker, Sir, I represent the post-Independence generation of our country. We are highly delighted to participate in the Golden Jubilee celebrations of Independence of our great nation. Your decision to convene the special session of Lok Sabha during this occasion to discuss about our achievements and also the shortcomings in the system, is very apt and commendable. This occasion have given us an opportunity for self-introspection and to evolve guidance for the future. Our motherland 'Bharat' has a history of human life, which is more than five thousand years old. God has given us bounty of wealth in the form of natural resources, plenty of fertile land, water, minerals, forests and other vegetation and above all human resource. In fact, human force is the biggest asset of our country. The root cause of enormous problems, which we are facing today, is mal-utilisation of this wealth.

As the famous saying goes, "when wealth is lost nothing is lost, when health is lost something is lost and when character is lost everything is lost. We have failed to identity our national character with that of our human force. Human character building ought to be our main task. Proper and meaningful education, setting models by practice and not by speech and drawing inspiration from our ancient history and culture would go a long way in character building.

Great and saintly lord Mahavir propagated 'Pancha Sutra' for good living, love, peace and eternal pleasure, for mankind. They are Satya *i.e.* Truth, Ahinsa, Brahmacharya,

Aparigraha and Astheya. The ideal for Ahimsa ensures free and peaceful co-existence for all, both living and non-living, furthering the cause of world fraternity. Brahmacharya propagates a meaningful family life with tolerance, which would go a long way in population control. Aparigraha ensures simple living and equitous distribution of wealth.

Similar are the ancient teachings of Purushartha Sukthа-Dharma Artha—Kama—Moksha. We have to follow these noble ideals, practise it and make these a reality. I sincerely believe that all the present day problems could be easily solved by these methods.

In modern times, the great thinker Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay propagated the ideal of 'Ekathma Manavavad' i.e. integral Humanism. Every human soul has inherent capability and only an opportunity is lacking. A study in depth of every individual is required to eradicate the evils and to solve the problems. In fact, the ideal of Integral Humanism is a guiding path for ushering a healthy, dynamic and prosperous society.

We, as the elected representatives of the people, would do a great service to the humanity, by setting examples in following and practising these noble ideals. I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that our beloved motherland would achieve shining highest glory i.e. the 'Param Vaibhav' in the world, if we tread this path.

SHRIMATI BHAGWATI DEVI

[Translation]

SHRIMATI BHAGWATI DEVI (Gaya) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, expressing my concern over the inaction on part of the Government to solve the problems of poor in our country, I submit that ours is a great country but our countrymen have remained so far deprived of what they deserve—the reason being that neither our present Government nor former governments have ever paid their attention towards their problems seriously.

As we know, there is a gap of sky and earth between rich and poor in our country which should be abridged urgently. It is pertinent to mention here that crores of poor earn their livelihood through various means in this country but that source of income too is banned by the Government. For example, people belonging to Bahelia Caste (fowlers) earn their livelihood by breeding the birds in their homes and later selling them when they are grown up but that profession has been completely banned by the Government.

There are crores of people whose lives depend upon fishing, stone crushing, bonded labouring and other such means requiring hard work. The hard working labourers are ruining their lives. But inspite of this they are getting neither two times food nor any dwelling unit for shelter. What kind of justice is this? When will they get social justice?

Today the country is celebrating the 50th Anniversary of its independence with full enthusiasm but India will get real freedom only when poor get more share in the society. A few days back the Government put a ban on use of animals in circus shows, which is a means of livelihood and survival for lakhs of people in our country. This is a means for people living in towns and villages to watch the wild animals. It is also a source of entertainment in which artists show their talent to public and thus bring amusement for them. The High Court of Delhi have given their verdict in their favour.

Ours is a country predominantly based on farming where 70 per cent people depend on agriculture. But there is no adequate and proper arrangement for procuring the crops of our poor farmers whereas the fact is that farmers are usually faced sometimes with drought and sometimes with flood. Hence, sometimes the farmers face crisis due to hail storms. Today we are lacking in providing even the basic facilities like drinking water, electricity, road, education, irrigation and health facilities within the country. On the other side we are facing price rise very badly. In the above circumstances the fate of the poor people can well be imagined. While on the one hand the rich people spend heavy amounts on luxuries, the poor fellows on the other hand are not in a position to make both ends meet in the country. There is need to bring equality. Then only the development of the country is possible otherwise it will become a joke.

The people belonging to Bahelia and Meer Shikar Communities are sitting on dharna with all members of their society at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi since 25-2-97 to allow them to carry out their traditional profession. The Government had several times assured us to do the needful but no further action has been taken to rehabilitate them.

With the help of the staff of the Dept. of Wild life, the anti-employment group conducted raids on the houses of birds dealers on 14–15 and 16 August 1997 to present a wrong picture of the Bahelia and Meer Community and to misguide the media. They seized the birds from large cages and glutted the birds in their small cages. They presented

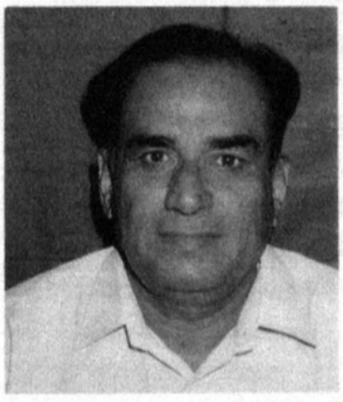
the wrong picture to the Environment Minister on 17-8-97 and emancipated the birds.

Approximately 1200 birds were kept in 11 small cages. According to the law of the Department of S.P.C.A. only a little sparrow can be kept in a cage 12"x12"x12" size. Hence who is responsible for the cruelty committed against the 1200 sparrows?

While under this law cases were registered against one and the same man and at the same time under Sections 215, 178 and 60 on the Birds dealers.

We demand the Bahelia and Meer communities should be allowed to do their traditional profession under control with immediate effect. They rear birds such as Parrot, Maina, Munia and gursal etc. breed them and bring them up carefully to earn their livelihood.

The Government should make other suitable arrangements to ensure that three lacs of people could earn their livelihood, if it does not want to allow them to do their traditional profession. Every action against them should be stopped unless the Government make arrangements for the employment of the people of Bahelia Community.



COL. SONA RAM CHOUDHARY

[English]

COL. SONA RAM CHOUDHARY (Barmer) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for permitting me a chance to give written statement. Though I was very keen to speak in the House, but time did not permit me to do so.

Recently a questionnaire in respect of Privileges, Rights, and Obligations of Member of Parliament by study Group of Committee of Privileges was circulated to MPs. Some of its salient features are as under:— MPs represents 12–15 lakhs people have some Privileges. The privileges should be protected:—

(a) *Privileges:*

(i) Raids and searches of their houses should be carried out only after sanction of the Competent Authority (President of India/Speaker) as is done in the case of Govt. servants.

(ii) Letters and correspondences of MPs are not being taken seriously by bureaucrats. Mechanism should be evolved to enforce it strictly.

(iii) MPs have no say in Centrally funded schemes. Bureaucrats gang up and work as per their whims and fancies. This should be enforced through strict guidelines or a Law.

(b) *Obligations:*

(i) MPs should ensure proper attendance in Parliament House and Committee meetings.

(ii) Persons with criminal background should not be allowed to fight election. Law should be amended accordingly.

(ii) The moment one is declared elected, MP should declare his assets. Subsequently, PM should file IT Statements.

Speaker Sir, governance and administration of any system or a country is very paramount. We inherited Colonial bureaucratic system from Indian Civil Service to IAS. We adopted British legacy. Number of changes has taken place but bureaucracy has gone bad to worse. Following reform committees/Commissions were ordered by various Govt. Main thrust line of these reports was to fine tune and reorient the bureaucracy. But bureaucracy is so strong and with vested interest that all reports scuttled out:—

(i)	Gorwal Report	—	1951
(ii)	Appleby Report	—	1953
(iii)	Administrative Commission	—	1966–70
(iv)	Sarkaria Commission report	—	1983

I have also inter-acted with bureaucrats during my 27 years service. This service is self centred and do not respect other services. Even they have hatred for Politicians. Most of them don't have faith in Parliamentary Democracy.

Most of the bureaucrats lack social obligations. They consider the poor people as second class citizen. 73–74 Constitution amendment came to effect regarding Panchayat Raj Institutions. Bureaucracy is still opposing transfer of power to local bodies. Unfortunately some Politicians are also in hands and gloves with these bureaucrats. Your booklet issued about 50 years of Independence of India mentions at page 18 about politicisation of bureaucracy. This is true and drastic measure should be taken to break nexus between politician and bureaucrats. Most of the Technical institutions and Organisations is a prerogative of technocrats but these are headed by bureaucrats. This should stop forthwith to stop further damage to the country.

We have discussed corruption in length. Politicians by and large have been made as corruption. It is unfortunate that no body has mentioned about corruption in bureaucracy. A through survey should be carried out regarding owing of houses and other movable/immovable property of serving and setired bureaucrats and education of their children.

There is talk of openness and transparency in administration. It is because of bureaucracy in existance. Therefore, some system should be made effective. Bureaucrats have paid important role in Fifth Pay Commission. They have shown their supermacy as if other services are under them. This is very serious situation. This is first time that no services are happy with Pay Commission report except IAS. They have down payed the Armed Forces. This will have serious repercussion if this is not rectified.

Bureacratic system of recruitment and promotion & perks are very high when compared with other services. There is no suppression except at Secretary level. At that level also they are compensated by financial benifits. In the Armed Forces and other services 50% officers are superseded at lower level.

I have few recommendations to make, so that country should not suffer from sickness of Governess and Administration in time to come. There are as under:—

(a) Bureaucracy should be revamped and restructured at Centre and State level;

(b) System of recruitment of bureaucracy should be totally changed and overhalled after taking example from other developed countries;

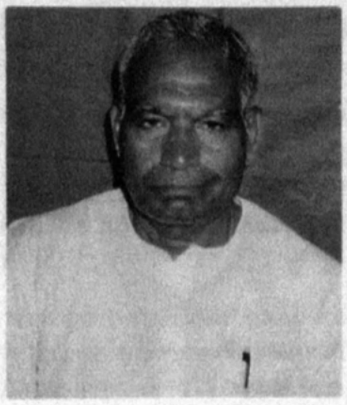
(c) Direct recruitment of IAS and sending young persons to Head the district is not correct. Distt. Magistrate & Collectors should have minimum 15 years service at other places;

(d) Some department should be closed down with liberalisation and intake of IAS should drastically be cut.

(e) Some of the administrative bodies should be transferred Panchayat Raj Institutions, Cooperatives, autonomous bodies, non Govt. Orgn. etc. This will facilitate further reduction of bureaucracy.

(f) Ministry of Personnel should initiate debate and deliberation in this regard with further loss of time. I also recommend that High Power Bureaucracy Reform Commission should be ordered in which no IAS officer be co-opted.

Last but not the least, I bring empathetically that second freedom struggle will not succeed if bureaucracy is not tamed, revamped and restructured.



SHRI NAMDEO DIWATHE

[Translation]

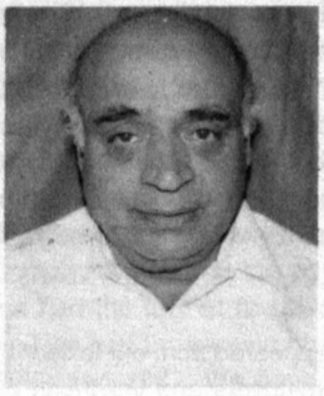
SHRI NAMDEO DIWATHE (Chimur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to lay a copy of my speech on the Table of the House.

FARMERS : The farmers of India are not even getting the actual price of the foodgrains produced by them. Therefore it should be treated as an industry and the prices of the agriculture produces should be fixed by constituting an Agriculture Price Commission besides giving the status of an industry. In this way the farmer and the agricultural labourer will get full return for the labour exerted by him on the field in terms of wages etc. The overall condition of the peasant and the labourer working in the field is pitiable. He is under a heavy burden of debt. The debts regarding water, society, electricity (power) and other personal debts are piling up. In this context, I would suggest that all such debts of the farmers or labourers whether big or small should be waived off.

UNEMPLOYMENT : The problem of educated unemployment is acquiring alarming proportions. So the Administration should come forward and provide bank guarantee as well as loans to them on minimum interest and as and when they establish themselves in a particular trade it should be handed over to them. Then only we can get rid of the problem of educated unemployed people. Educated people are generally harassed by bank people. Therefore a separate Commission or Cell should be constituted for educated unemployed people so that a solution to their problems could be worked out.

COTTAGE INDUSTRY : Liberalisation policy has got a tremendous impact on our country. In my Constituency, there has been a complete erosion especially that of weavers. They are starving now-a-days. They have no house to live in, the weavers are under heavy burden of debt and they are moving from pillar to post and could not find a job

anywhere. So any craftsman be it weaver, potter, cobbler, goldsmith, washerman or any other tradesman is very much influenced by this Multinational liberalisation and should be provided an interest free loan so that he could re-establish himself in his trade. This will help him to come out of this situation of starvation.



SHRI M.P. VEERENDRA KUMAR

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI M.P. VEERENDRA KUMAR) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, India is not merely a geographical expression extending from Jammu & Kashmir in the North to Cape Camorin in the South. That merely depicts the physical frame or exterior of India as has been beautifully depicted by Kalidasa in Kumara Sambhava:

"Astyut Tarasyaam
Dishi Devtarama
Himalayo Naam
Nagadhirajah :
Poorvaaparao Toya
Nidhi Vagahya
Sthita Prithivyam
Tava Manadanda"

India represents not merely a frame but a spirit. For centuries that spirit has been exemplified by catholicity, by tolerance, by benediction, by love and grace. To this land came the invaders like Huns, the Sakas, the Pathans and Mughals because of the immense wealth and prosperity. Kalidas depicts India as the most beautiful landscape, the paradise on earth:

Dooradathashchakram Nabhasyatanvi
Tamalataali Vanaraja Neela
Aabhati Vela Lavanaambur Ashih
Dhara Nivardoova Kalanka Rekha

They tried to grab that most beautiful landscape, tried to conquer but they did not succeed. The spirit of India remained and remains even till date free, intrebid & unconquerable. No force on earth, howsoever mighty and aggressive could own it, conquer it, instead they all mingled in the oethos & of India remained & spirit of India. The Indian spirit owned the intruder, the aggressor, the plunderer as dearly as it has owned its people. There was no trace of animosity or ill will left against these invading forces which in a sense have desecrated and devastated the external frame without succeeding in destroying the inner spirit. This is what Tagore writes in Bharat Teerth so lyrically and with such heart rending beauty:

'Arise and awake
O my consciousness
On This sacred land,
On the bank of this great sea of humanity
That is India
Nobody knows
At whose behest
How many streams of men and women
Came here like gushing streams
How many of them immersed themselves
In this ocean.
Into this land
Came the Aryans, the non-Aryans
The Dravidians and Chinese
The Huns, the Sakas, the Pathans and Mughals
And lost their identity in one.
They came through mountain passes,
Through deserts
They came singing their glory
Proud and boisterous
Finally they submerged amidst us
Their sound and fury
Got merged with our essential being'

What happened on 15th August, 1947? In the ethereal or superficial sense India liberated itself from the yoke of foreign imperialism, from the reign of 200 years marked by subjugation, torture and oppression. In the true sense, India was not subjugated, Indian spirit was not captured, far less being conquered by anyone. India has been a free country for longer than the longest lived civilisation on this earth. What happened on 15th August, 1947 was merely liberation or emancipation of the physical frame of India, not its spirit. It remains as triumphant, as intrepid, as unconquerable as ever.

Fifty years since 1947 is, therefore, not to be equated with existence of Indian nationhood. The nation existed as it exists in all its transcendental glory, in all the primacy and intrepidity of its triumphant spirit and glory as then, as for centuries.

There are, however, 2 significant aspects which need to be reckoned. One, 15th August, 1997 reminds us of the story of the heroic struggle and sacrifice, of the suffering and persecution of numerous men, women, children who lost everything of theirs—their education, their jobs, their possessions for the cause of the liberation of motherland, for upholding the supremacy and freedom of human spirit. In the process, they became martyrs. They have carved out a place for themselves. As a grateful nation remembers them and recalls the story of their blood, sweat and tears, as I recall the name of Vakkam Abdul Quader, a distinguished freedom fighter of Kerala who became a martyr for the cause of freedom (he was hanged to death by the imperialists at a young age of 23) and offer my humble obeisance to them from the innermost recesses of my heart it also fills my heart as well as the hearts and minds of the younger generation with pride and patriotism. It beckons them to action, united and constructive action that if this great nation of ours is to maintain its unity, integrity and sovereignty no sacrifice could be considered to be great compared to the price of liberty. Eternal vigilance backed by total probity and rectitude can alone protect and preserve that unity, integrity and sovereignty. No individual ego hassles, individual pride and prejudice, no individual acquisitive instincts, no individual vanity is going to protect and preserve that liberty. They have all to subsume themselves to the larger task of maintaining the pride, distinction and glory of Indian nationhood. In this context I bow my head before our jawans, our armed forces who like sentinels are guarding our frontiers, who are prepared to sacrifice all their creative comforts for this great cause and who are to be loved and adored by the whole Nation for their sacrifice which has no parallel.

The second important aspect to be reckoned with is that 15th August, 1997 must be a historic occasion for self introspection. Can we look back and think, reflect and critically analyse as to what was expected of us, what we have done so far and what are the unfinished tasks which remain to be attended to with urgency and seriousness of concern. Our celebration will be incomplete without a rigorous and soul searching self analysis.

The post independence leadership had pledged to build a modern, socialist secular, democratic policy or an establishment of a casteless, classless society and polity. Where are we in terms of fulfilment of this dream? Where is the socialist India of the dream of Father of the Nation, Jawaharlal Nehru, Acharya Kriplani, Jaiprakash Narayan, Narendra Deb and Rammanohar Lohia, to quote only a few? It will not be a travesty of truth to say that 50 years after independence socialism has disappeared from the economics of India. Socialism is not slogan shouting; it is not tokenism. It is the desire for bringing about a genuine change, a real transformation in the lives of the people who are at the bottom rung of the ladder of development. It is a sincere and earnest attempt to wipe out the tear from the cheerless faces of mute millions—the landless agricultural labourers, the share croppers, the rural artisans, the fishermen and women, the salt workers, the leather workers, the beedi workers, the building and construction workers, the brick kiln workers, the bonded men, women and children, the contract, casual and migrant workmen, those mute millions who are what they are today for no fault of theirs, who have been victims of social discrimination and economic exploitation, who though human beings like others have not been able to carve out a slice of the national cake for maintaining the very semblance of a decent biological existence.

Socialism seems to have disappeared from our lexicons, from our thinking and from our mindsets and yet those of us who have been ardent votaries of socialism seem to be unconcerned about it. We are unrepentant for having committed this sacrilege to our precious conscience. We may at best be paying a lip service to socialism at seminars, symposia and workshops but true socialism remains a distant dream. The goal of creating a classless and casteless society is nowhere in sight as the agenda of action of the Indian polity committed through declarations and pronouncements to creation of a socialist republic. The reality is something else.

We need to ponder over and ask ourselves this question, 'why do we give slogans like samajbad, samajik kranti, garibi hatao, antyodaya, mahila samruddhi? Why do we believe in tokenism? Why cannot we gracefully acknowledge that cosmetic change, is no change, is no longer the need of the hour? Instead, what is needed is a genuine change reflecting peoples' concern and intimately affecting the lives of the poor, the deprived and the disadvantaged. That genuine change cannot be brought about by gimmicks but by hard headed, planned, concerted and serious efforts. Why cannot we gracefully acknowledge defeat that we have failed the mute millions of this country? We have played all sorts of cheap and dirty tricks with them but we cannot afford to do it any more. They may be non-literate, non-numerate but they are certainly not goofes, not dull or unintelligent. They are mature, sensible, sensitive and their whole life is a saga of rich experience, of suffering and sacrifice, also of hard work and dedication for making the nation self-reliant and prosperous. We have a host of things to learn from them. We have a lot to emulate from their lives. But they will not take it lying low any more if we continue to play gimmicks and pay lip service to their genuine needs, hopes and aspirations.

This is an honest and transparent attempt at self-introspection and certainly not an attempt at denigration of our achievements during the last 50 years. By the time we attained independence, we had been robbed and drained of all resources, of our elan vital by the imperialist powers for their own glory and self-aggrandisement. We had to depend on foreign aid for everything, from a morsel of food to alpins and needles and what not. In the years before and after independence we have faced lots of trials and tribulations, we have also suffered lots of reverses. We had the trauma of Bengal famine in which millions perished, we had the ravages of the Second World War, we had the trauma of partition, the trauma associated with incalculable suffering of millions of refugees crossing the border in search of some elusive peace, freedom and happiness in their homeland. We had the earthquakes in 1934, 1950, 1993, we had the fury of floods and cyclones almost every year and we had the catastrophe of drought and famine in 1968, 1979 and 1987. We have taken all of them in our stride. Our innocent brothers and sisters have taken them in their stride. With production of 200 million tonnes of foodgrains we have achieved complete self-sufficiency in foodgrains and we do not have any more to helplessly look for PL 480 which dominated our thinking, our very survival in 50s and 60s. Today we have higher savings, higher investment, higher rate of economic growth, lower rate of inflation, higher food stock, remarkable strides in science and technology, higher life expectancy, higher per capita availability of beds in hospitals, higher per capita availability of doctors and nurses, lower infant mortality and maternal mortality rate, higher availability of vaccines for immunisation, higher per capita availability of clean potable water and so on.

Simultaneously there are numerous grey areas of concern which need to be taken cognizance of. We have over 300 million people below poverty line (below Rs. 11,600 = 00 annual income with an average earning of less than a $ dollar). A national minimum wage for 320 million workforce of whom over 300 million are in the sweated sector is nowhere is sight. We have over 300 million people non-numerate and non literate without the minimal access to the world of continuously growing information, communication, innovation, modernisation and skills. We have over 80 million children in 5–14 age group our of school of whom about 20 million are child labourers who are victims of parental poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and under employment. We needed about 58 million jobs at the end of the 8th Plan period and we would be needing about 94 million jobs at the end of the 9th Plan period if we are to translate to reality the dream of full, freely chosen and productive employment. It is true that we have achieved complete self sufficiency in production of foodgrains and have sizeable stock of food grains to meet any eventuality. This is a matter of national pride and distinction and speaks volumes of the unbounded ingenuity, creativity and resourcefulness of our agricultural scientists. But when we think of the plight and predicament of about 185 million small and marginal farmers, share croppers and landless agricultural labourers the glory of achievement of self sufficiency in foodgrains production fades to oblivion. Would this production have been possible without their blood, sweat and tears? What have we done for them, for their health, safety and well-being, for reducing their drudgery and monotony, their gruelling hardship? Can a Nation afford to march ahead by ignoring them and their irreducible barest minimum? It is not merely a question of providing legislative protection for their health, safety and welfare, it is a question of recognising them as human beings (not as statistical units of production), the dignity, beauty and worth of their human existence and making them feel that they are entitled to certain inalienable human rights as human beings and reminding ourselves that no economic growth, progress and prosperity will ever be meaningful without ensuring a minuscule of the barest minimum to which they are entitled.

Over the years there have been a lot of sincere initiatives in the field of poverty alleviation and employment generation in both urban and rural areas. Schemes like IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, DWCRA, TRYSEM, DPAP, JRY, IJRY, EAS, DDP, PMRY, NRY etc. have been set in motion arousing lot of hopes and aspirations in the minds of families and people below poverty line. We still, however, continue to speak in the language of poverty alleviation and not poverty eradication. The latter seems almost to be elusive. As numerous debates–national and international–continue to be held in air-conditioned chambers about the scope, content, range and dimension of anti poverty and employment generation programmes people and families below poverty line continue to go on sliding lower and lower on the scale of human development.

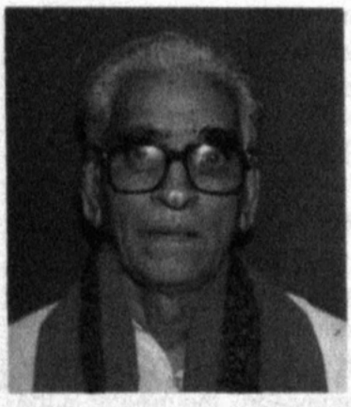
As people migrate from one district and one State to another due to poverty, landlessness and assetlessness, some in search of better prospects of employment and wages and most in search of a biological survival, they are left on the vertex of misery, privation and suffering. The larger the number of malfunctional and dys-functional middlemen who recruit them with false hopes and promises, with promise of 'El Dorado or Disneyland', the greater is the intensity of suffering and exploitation. They live in hovels, work for long hours without the barest minimum facilities and amenities, wages are lower than minimum wage, there is cheating and under-weighment of wages paid in kind, no safety devices are provided, accidents often cause injury resulting in death or disablement, human life is often reduced to smithereens, because it is so cheap, so easily available for exploitation. As families migrate and get into one debt

trap after another children are denied the right of access to educational opportunity and the petals of childhood wither away before blossoming to the fragrance of flowers of youths and manhood. Millions of men, women & children held in bondage, denied of the irreducible barest minimum necessities of life have not yet tasted the elixir of freedom, not to speak of excitement and joy of human life, 'the finest and best in creation'.

As politics gets criminalised and crimes get politicised and there is so much of rancour, bitterness, jealousy and calumny of one against another, one ponders over what Bapu had said, 'Hate imperialism but not its agents'. Where is the knowledge we have lost in information, where is the information we have lost in knowledge? As the cycles of 20 centuries move on and on and as wealth accumulates, men and women decay and perish fighting against each other and lost in the mire of hatred and violence I am reminded of what TS Eliot had said in 'Wasteland':

'We are the hollowmen
We are the suffed men
Head pieces full of straw'

As the bells toll and midnight of 14th gives way to dawn of 15th August 1997 these are the thoughts which haunt me and which should haunt all of us. Are we human beings? Are we free citizens of a free country? As human beings are we any better, finer and nobler than beast of the jungle? What man has done to man? What have we done individually and collectively to ourselves? Is there a way out? Where is that way? Can the 50th year of Indian Independence provide an answer?



SHRI DHARMABHIKSHAM

SHRI DHARMABHIKSHAM (Nalgonda) : Mr. Speaker Sir, I appreciate your valuable thought of conducting Special Session on the 50th anniversary of Independent India. Though you have made multiple efforts to involve all the members in the discussions but the time which is not permitted many of us to express orally. Hence I took privilege to put on the paper and record some of my views on the precious occasion. I pay my homage to the great heroes who sacrificed their life to liberate Mother India from the clutches of imperialism. I also pay the tributes to the great valuable sacrifices. As a participant of this the great Indian Independence movement, I know the commitment to the freedom of India. And the path of thorns to overcome the tortures, and unbearable, the living conditions, underground life and behind the iron bars, which I was experienced about approximately 5 years in different zails. On those days we dreamt for a great India where in which the people should not die with hunger, poverty. Unemployment untouchability, the communalism, should not be a spectre which hunt the nation and its generations. After the 50 years though we have achieved certain sectors greatly like in communications, agriculture, diary products, engineering but on enormous steps ought have of have been taken to achieve more and more. I hails from a simple toddy tapper backward community of a small town as such I know the rural India and the people who are engaged in different professing of their nation. The benefits and the fruits of the rural schemes introduced by various Govt.'s are nor reaching to the people who are really backward. The Devil of unemployment hurt further more and make the nation with full of discontent. The communalism is a great threat to our nation. I appeal house to feel the all minority community cast people should feel themselves that they are not neglected by the rulers. The minority, the tribals, SC, OBC and the womenfolk should feel that their rights are not curbed, they must be provided with all means of assistants to strength and themselves and feel dignity in the society.

Lastly, on my conclusion I submit that the spirit of constitution that the democracy, sovereignty, secularism, socialism should be strengthened protected by fighting against all the evil designs to save and strengthen the nation for brighter and developed India and its people engaged in the rural areas and the professionals, who are engaged from generations together to feed themselves and his family and paving the way to the development of the nation with their blood and swet. The weavers, fishermans, toddy tapper, carpenters, gold smith, black smith, washerman who are engaged in their professions are being neglected to develop themselves by getting necessary help from the agencies. It is a great failure of our methodology which is being adopted by the Govt. so far. Though rivers are deflowing with water and floods but the farmers are seeing towards the sky to get their yield due to the unsolved irrigation schemes even after though 50 years. The agriculture labour, the tribals, the poorer of the strata of the society are starving due to the failure of the proper planning. Even for example in my State where the water can be provided through Sri Ram Sagar, SLBC, Icchami Palli projects and other projects on Godavari and Krishna Rivers which are not cleared by the Central Govt. and throwing the responsibility on either Govt., is a great damage to the people and Nation. If the functioning

on the irrigation projects is continues like this it will most prepare to a great revolt on regional imbalances.

Hence, the immediate task should be irrigation projects and provide drinking water to the fluoride effected people. The Public Sector is a great achievement of this nation but the unscientific approach to this great task is causing enormous loss to the nation and people. If the rural development is not based on the profession, job oriented and involvement of crores of people.

SHRI SOMJIBHAI DAMOR

[Translation]

SHRI SOMJIBHAI DAMOR (Dohad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Special Session is summoned to discuss our achievements and failures during the last 50 years.

I would like to draw your attention towards progress made by Tribals so far and to what extent the condition of tribals has improved.

There has been a nominal progress in regard to the education of the Tribal people throughout the country. Today in our villages children want to study but nobody is there to teach them. The tribal people want to achieve some progress in the field of education. So far as primary education is concerned, the Government should consider for constructing a building in each Mohalla of every village for primary schools and arrangements for deputing teachers there may also be made so that children can get some education. So in addition to it, there should be a Middle school at every 10 Kms. distance and besides this these people should have the college an hostel facility as well. All these facilities which should have to be provided till date have not yet been provided. Therefore I would urge upon the Government that a tribal university be set up for tribal people to ensure that this university could make a provision for the education of all the tribal people. So, I would also like to say that till a University is established, there should atleast be 50 thousand Balwadi, one thousand residential schools, five thousand hostels, a college and a hostel in each tehsil.

The economic condition of Tribals is also not as good these days as it was before the independence. Tribal people were quite happy prior to independence, but now-a-days they are under a heavy burden of debt and will continue in that state for years to come. That is why I feel that appropriate steps have not been taken by the Government for the welfare of the Tribals. In this context I would suggest that a Tribal Bank be created to improve the economic condition of the Tribals. Besides, a target should be fixed for minor trades of the Tribals under which at least one lakh Tribals are employed in small scale industries. That way there will be an abatement in unemployment.

Previously Tribal people were the masters of the forest and now-a-days forests are under the control of the Government. Forests are somehow related to the livelihood of the tribals. We can not think of forest without tribals, and there could not be any existence of the tribals without forest. Now-a-days the Government is spending a lot of money for the expansion of forests. Not only that, enormous funds are also being sought from outside sources. But the area under the forests is far below the requirements and the Government is not doing what ought to have been done by it. There is no expansion as such in this regard. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government that the forests be handed over to the tribals and plants and samplings should also be provided to them so that they could themselves start plantation work there. And there will be a forest very soon. Therefore I urge upon the Government that every Tribal should be given at least 15 hectares of land on lease for thirty years, so that he can cultivate a forest and earn a livelihood for himself out of it.

Government of India have brought a legislation whereby the land of tribals is not taken away by anybody and this legislation was sent to every State, but many States are not following it. So, I would like that this legislation is followed strictly. I am informed that this law has been reversed in Bihar with certain modifications. I have received complaint that if a tribal girl marries a non-tribal man there, he is also considered a tribal and later on he can also purchase land. Similarly, law is being reversed in Kerala and the land of Tribals is being grabbed. So, I would urge upon the Government to evolve such a system by which the law is implemented to the maximum benefit of tribal people in all the States.

Seven and a half per cent reservation has been fixed in Government services for tribal people but literate people among tribals are roaming about without any job even after 50 years. Graduates and double Graduates are available, but they are not taken in for the jobs where SSC pass candidates are required. Therefore, we shall have to think seriously about them as well.

There is no drinking water in villages. People bring drinking water from a distance of 5 to 10 Kms. They drink the water where animals drink and it is a matter of shame for us.

Same is the problem with electricity. Electric pole has been installed in the village but there is no electricity for days together. Not only that, it so happens at times that there is no electricity for months together. There should be some provision for electricity as well.

The Government of India has constituted a National Commission for SCs and STs, but the chances of getting justice through it are also remote. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government that the Commission may be further divided into two parts. Out of this single Commission, two Commissions may be created, one exclusively for Tribals and the other for Dalits.

Something similar, I would like to say about Parliamentary Welfare Committee. This Committee may also be further divided into two, one exclusively for Tribals and the other for Dalits alone. The committee that would be constituted for tribals should have 10 Members from the Lok Sabha and 5 Members from the Rajya Sabha. My request is that Government may taken quick action in this regard.

A National Finance Development Corporation has been constituted for Harijan tribals, but I donot know whether that corporation has paid a single penny to the tribles so far. There is no progress in it. This corporation is of no use, therefore I suggest to divide the corporation into to, one for tribals and the other for dalits. A National committee should be constituted in this corporation and a committee headed by a Chairman should also be constituted in every State and district which will have a separate budget on national level like that of state level, district level and tehsil level. Separate budget and targets should be given to each so that there is some progress.

There is 7.5 per cent reservation for tribals in the services (employment) and the Courts have given separate judgements with regard to the provision of promotions, with all that Tribals are not getting promotion. Government should summon all the MPs and arrive at some decision.

There is a demand for Sixth Schedule among Tribal people all over India. Government have also passed a legislation but the Government have not yet declared it as scheduled area. That is why this legislation is not being followed. So, I would like that it is declared scheduled area as early as possible and consider implementing sixth schedule as early as possible.

There is provision in the constitution for constituting a commission for the progress of Tribals. The Commission was constituted only once till now, since then the Commission was never constituted. Therefore, I would like that a Commission is constituted to assess the achievement of Tribals during 50 years.

A schedule is framed with regard to the castes to be included in the schedule of tribals, but even after 50 years of independence there are certain castes which have not been included in this schedule. Therefore a new legislation may be brought to include other castes in this schedule.

A legislation has been made to check atrocities on Harijans and Tribals, but it is also not been followed properly. When the people go to lodge a complaint it is not entertained, and if at all the complaint is entertained, it is done in such a way that the culprit is not punished. Therefore, some stern action should be taken in this regard also.

There is no candidate now, even after a lapse of 50 years of Independence, who can become a Cabinet Minister. It is also a matter of shame.

There is a lot of disaffection among tribals because they have not progressed much. All the Tribal Communities joined together and suggested to the Government for formation of a separate state for tribals. A plan was also chalked out which was sent to Hon. President, Prime Minister, Home Minister and Welfare Minister. I am presenting that Plan here. Government should look to it seriously, and the Government should make a provision to form a separate state in the area. Where the population is predominantly tribal.

There is a move of 33 per cent reservation for women in Legislative Assemblies and Parliament but no legislation has been brought till now. A legislation should be brought in this connection as early as possible. There is a move for 30 per cent reservation for women in employment and women should take steps in this direction after serious thought.

Now-a-days the Government is advising others to adopt Satyagraha type of movement to check the corruption. Although the Government is having the authority, with all that it is talking in the idiom of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba, which is not good for the Government. The Government should take stern action against corruption etc. I have written about the prevailing corruption in the Ministry of Communications and Ministry of Petroleum, but till date I have not received any reply from either of the two Ministries. Therefore, the Government should also pay attention to these Ministries and punish the guilty after thorough investigation.

In this context, I would like to thank Mulayam Singh Yadav. Pakistanis used to fire at our Jawans killing many of them. That time our Government would say that we would be having a dialogue with the Pakistani Government and we will be taking stern action. But today when the Pakistanis has killed our 7 of our jawans, the latter retaliated and killed 70 jawans on the pak side. The matter ebbed/down all at once. If such stern measures are taken in the country, the corruption, atrocities, goondaism, rape, burglary etc. will come to a halt.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these words, I would thank you for summoning this Special Session.

DR. BALIRAM

DR. BALIRAM (Lalgunj) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on this occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence an historical national debate is going on in the Parliament. Most of the hon. Members have expressed their concern over the prevailing problems of poverty, unemployment, starvation, superstitions, caste system and corruption. In spite of all this Golden Jubilee is being celebrate with great joy and pomp and show.

We are debating here the achievements and failure of the country during the past fifty years. It is a reality that even fifty years after independence adivasis are dependent on others. Their livelihood depends upon the fields of 60 per cent rich farmers. When they came to cities for becoming economically independent they had to depend on labour and employment opportunities. Crores of people of this country are living a life full of misseries like that of animals whereas on the eve of independence, they were hopeful and had high aspirations that after independence they would be prosperous, get their due right. Social, economic and political inequality would be removed, and they would become self-reliant. But SC/ST and backward sections of the society of this country, who were most affected and exploited, were concerned about their dependence on Brahminical order or caste system.

Before Independence a long struggle was fought by Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Shahooji Maharaj, Baba Saheb Joyotirao or Jyotiba? Dr. Ambedkar and Periyar Rama Swami Naikar, for ending caste-system and people's dependency on them.

Our Constitution mentions this clearly. Majority community of this country is proud of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar for making Special provisions in the Constitution to remove social and economic backwards of certain classes and sections of this country. But during the past fifty years, the people in power had not made any efforts for encouraging their participation in administration and ignored them instead. At the time of framing of the Constitution of India, Dr. Ambedkar expressed his concern over this fact and stated that "The Constitution of India was better and vast Constitution than other Constitutions of the world but its provisions could be misused if intention behind its implementation is not good". Fear of Dr. Ambedkar proved true and it is a fact that the country has not been run in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Without any hesitation we can say that the conscience of the people who were given the responsibility to govern the country was not clear.

The framers of our Constitution regarded the Constitution as an instrument to achieve economic progress and to bring social transformation. The main concern of our Constitution has been to achieve socio-economic democracy besides achieving political democracy. Baba Saheb Ambedkar had once said about democracy—"To have a democratic Government it is necessary to have a democracy in the society. If there is no democracy in the society, the formal structure of democracy has no significance".

When we evaluate the principle of democracy *i.e.* Government of the people, for the people and by the people, we find that Government is not formed with this feeling of democracy, but Government is formed by using money, media and mafia which are the great obstacles for democracy.

The biggest problem of our country is its casteist structure. In this regard Shri Paswanji was saying that Mahatama Gandhi and Baba Saheb gave equal contribution in eradicating the casteism. I do not agree with it. I believe that Mahatama Gandhi and Baba Saheb Ambedkar were contrary to each other. Gandhiji had supported casteism whereas Baba Saheb was in the favour of doing away with the casteism. I would like to say about the views of Gandhiji and Baba Saheb in regard to casteism. Gandhiji had said that to do away with casteism means to do away with the hereditary profession Casteism is natural and eternal truth of life. If Brahmin become a Shudra and Shudra became a Brahmin, then the development of our society will came to a stand still.

As regards Castes, Baba Saheb's views were "untochables are the product of casteism. Until castes system is there untouchables will exists. Unless we do away with the casteism in our country, it is not possible to do justice with untouchables. Until this hateful and unholy system is abolished from Hindu religion, nothing can save Hindus in future struggle and this religion cannot exist," said Baba Saheb on 7th Feb. 1933.

"I do not believe that Casteism is a hateful and poisonous religions system. It has its own limitations and faults. But there is nothing unholy in this, as is not about the untouchability, and if untouchability is the product of caste system, it is in that respect only as if some ugly part comes out of any part of our body or some crop is infested. To demolish the caste-system on the ground of untouchability will be wrong in the same way as to destroy the whole body or the crop because of that ugly part or the infestation." Harijan, 11th Feb. 1933. Gandhi.

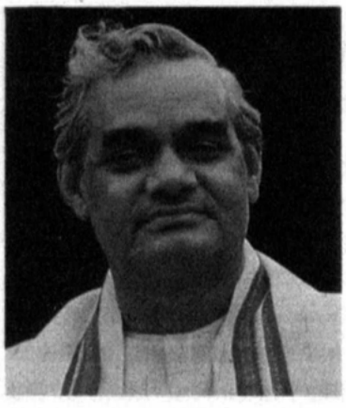
Not only this, Gandhiji was also anti-dalits. Whenever Baba Saheb Ambedkar launched movements to give dalits their fundamental rights, Gandhiji always raised his protest against it the same was with regard to separate electorates or doing away with Casteism.

The other major problem in our Country is the poverty. As it is said that India was once very rich country, but it is rich even today and will remain so in future. India is rich in natural resources. The countries which are prosperous today have made progress by exploiting the natural resources of their country. In India, instead of exploiting our natural resources we are exploiting our people and that is why we are backward in comparison to other developed countries of the world. As a result of which, our country is facing poverty, starvation and unemployment. For example, Vishakhapattnam is famous in the world for its deposits of coal and iron. Despite that, India produces 150 lakhs tonnes of iron per year. Japan purchase the Iron filing from our country and is producing very good quality of one thousand lakh tonnes of steel every year and is exporting it to the other countries of the world. So we can say that farsightedness and wisdom of our rulers can help in removing poverty, starvation and unemployment in the country.

This House is responsible for increase in corruption in the country. Ex-Prime Minister late Shri Rajiv Gandhi has said that only 17 per cent of the grants sanctioned for developmental works by the Central Government reach to the people. Despite this fact, no concrete efforts are being made to root out this evil, keep aside the corruption all over the country, the cost of furniture purchased for the houses of Members of this Lok Sabha is two times more than the market price. No body raises any objection over it.

One of the hon. Members has demanded that the benefit of reservation should be withdrawn. He said that only unqualified people are getting the benefit of reservation. For example, he said that such people leave scissors in abdomen while performing operations. I criticise such views of the hon. Member and appeal to the Government to appoint an inquiry commission and conduct survey as to who is responsible for scams, Hawalas, Rail accidents, bank scams–whether reserved category people or the general category people. The provision of reservation should continue in the country till the qualification of a person is determined on the basis of the caste.

I, therefore, would like to say the root of this problem lies in illiteracy, lack of feelings for the nation and casteism in the country. These points should be discussed seriously and we should try to find out an alternative for this.



SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) : Hon'ble Speaker, Sir.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Please call the Prime Minister.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I have requested that the Prime Minister be here.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, this Special Session is going to conclude. This Golden Jubilee Celebration of Independence, as other Members have rightly said, has created a history of its own. Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, you deserve congratulation and gratitude from all of us for the success of this Special Session.

Today being your Birthday, our congratulations is two-fold. This special Session is being conducted by your imagination. You have prepared well in advance and got prepared those important documents and I would also like

to express my thanks to the Secretariat which helped in successfully organising this Session. Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, the discussion continued for 65 hours and Members took part in discussion throughout days and nights. We have got references in our scriptures that the persons who shuns sleep during the night is a 'yogi' in the real sense. I do not accept that they have been awake throughout the night because of lure of being viewed on television.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You are right. It is not so.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The lure of being viewed on television was not enough to keep them awake in the wee hours of 4 O'clock, 5 O'clock when their near and dear ones were in deep slumber. But I feel that the fifty years of Independence has been completed by taking steps to organise this Session on 14th August on the line of same historic event that happened on the midnight of 14th August 1947 in Central Hall. You have created national reminiscence in the memory of the Member of Parliament and the completion of that historic moment encourage the members to participate in discussion by keeping themselves awake whole night.

After hearing the speech of the Members of Parliament we have come to the conclusion that we were not aware of the talents of our Members. Whoever came to speak was well prepared and giving reference from documents and citing figures after concentrating on certain topics. On the one hand they were feeling proud of India's achievements and on the other they were also referring the failures in details with anguish. It means that in an opportune moment the Members may deliver a well prepared speech. They can put their views with all alacrity in moments of inspiration, forgetting the small lapses and cutting across party lines. The democratic participation we are talking about can be initiated in this Lok Sabha only.

Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, when I moved the Motion, the names of leaders belonging to all other parties and groups were also there besides me. There were 19 names in it. Some papers also commented on this. My Motion was unbiased. It contained an appeal for discussion. It was not an announcement of any policy but there were some basic questions in my appeal. I am happy that we had detailed and serious discussion on these subjects. We have discussed about democracy and present status of democratic institutions. We have selected economic situation, infrastructural facilities and science and technology as a topics of discussion. We have also discussed about our capabilities. We have also expressed our opinion about human development. The country wants some concrete and tangible result of this 65 hrs. of discussion through consensus.

Hon. Speaker, Sir, from here your role begins. The leaders of all political parties kept on exchanging their views with you and exchange of ideas continued to take place. If it was not the churning of the sea but it is certainly churning of the ideas. There is no chances of poison coming out of this churning but nectar which will sustain the democracy, revive the democracy and provide new lease of life to it. This has often been repeated during discussion that we have completed fifty years of Independence. In a country like India, the span of fifty years is not so long but all the same this period is not too short. In the discussion, satisfaction has been expressed in the achievements made in these fifty years and all the same we have also expressed our concerned and agony on our failures.

Hon. Speaker, Sir, the other day in the Central Hall when we heard the messages of Gandhiji, Nehruji and Netaji in their own voices, that was a novel experience for many Members and that was an inspiring moment. Gandhiji said that they had to wipe away tears from everybody's eyes but Nehruji had to take charge of the Governance. Nehruji was a practical man. He did not reiterate Gandhiji's this statement that we have to wipe away tears from everyboy's eyes. He said that it is our resolve to wipe away tears from everybody's eyes. But this resolve will be fulfilled or not is not known. I hold the opinion that we have to wipe away tears from the eyes of majority of people. But those are the words uttered by Nehruji 50 years ago. Now fifty years have elapsed. A discussion was held in the House as to why we have lagged behind in the race of progress. A discussion is going on in the whole country. I agree that such people are also taking part in the discussion who overlook the contribution of such Members of Parliament participating in the discussion throughout night and after midnight most of the seats are seen vacant. The journalists are independent but in the normal course also sometimes shortage of quorum is found and bell has to be rung but the manner in which the Member have waited for their turn for the whole night is really unprecedented scene and infact it speaks of a lively democracy here.

Hon. Speaker, Sir, so many views have been expressed in this discussion, I would like to suggest that the Government should thoroughly scrutinise the speeches delivered by the Members of Parliament including those speeches being laid on the table of the House. The

Government should have been present in the House throughout but it was not so. Some Ministers were present but not the Governments. I can understand the preoccupations of the Prime Minister. He has to take care both of Home and Foreign affairs also but majority of the M.Ps. members of the Cabinet could come to the House, sit, listen and note down some of the main points. But it did not happen. Only those Ministers attended the House who had to deliver the speeches. They delivered their speeches and left the House. They did not wait to listen to the speeches of others. Certainly one day our Home Minister came to the House with all his seriousness and expressed his views on the announcement made by the Election Commission. When the House was discussing about the criminalisation of politics, when we were discussing how the criminalisation is eroding our politics, our democracy. Election Commission made this announcement. Election Commission is a Constitutional Institution. It's responsibility is to conduct elections. We confine ourselves to our speeches only but the conduct is their jurisdiction. If any such announcement was made, it was not necessary for the Home Minister to make his personal comments in this regard. If the decision of the Election Commission does not conform to the law any citizen can challenge it in the Supreme Court and High Court and the court will readily accept. But whether it was proper for the Government to express its reaction in such manner?

I observed whatever the Election Commission has said under the provisions of Peoples Representation Act, 1951 is not contrary to the rules. It is alright that if anybody can be declared ineligible to contest the election, we shall have to take every aspects in our consideration. We have to define how to identify the criminal. It has been defined by our law. And the Election Commission only can give its interpretation to the existing law in this regard and it may put it into practice. Legislation is our job and Election Commission cannot deprive us of this right. But such feeling should not be allowed to be created in the country that Election Commission wants to take some logical and effective steps but the politicians are creating hurdles in its way.

If such feeling was being cultivated there was a need to desist from it. We have made serious discussion on the election reforms. Members expressed their views with all their seriousness. I hope that at the end of the discussion when the Prime Minister participates in it, he will speak on the ever-increasing expenditure of elections which is the root cause of corruption. The Prime Minister will tell the contemplation of the Government in this regard. A suggestion about public funding has been given. It will not require huge amounts of funds but there is a need to consider it seriously. Criminalisation of politics and increasing corruption in the public life are the two issues on which the whole House speaks with one voice. No body wants to put a veil on the issue of corruption. In case of the Government I am aware that the Prime Minister has spoken even of Satyagrah. It is a different issue where and who should observe this Satyagraha and in front of whom. Shri Nikhil Chakravarti has written an article in this regard. He is a friend of the Prime Minister and associated with a progressive ideology. He has written that the Prime Minister has given a unique suggestion that we should observe Satyagraha. Whether this should be observed in front of Prime Minister? My friend Shri George Fernandes had also raised this issue. All have said that the feeling of violation of law is latent in Satyagraha. Whether the Prime Minister is suggesting to violate the law? Whether he will lead the movement? Whether he is ready to abdicate his office? Even such remarks have also been floated. These are not my words. But corruption is destroying everything. Whether it may find a mention in speech delivered from rampart of Red Fort or not whether President have discussion on this issue or not, it is not important. Some of our friends said that there was no need to speak from rampart of Red Fort in this regard. But how would you keep your mouth shut at this juncture. It is such problem which can afflict each and every life in the country. I was watching a programme on television as how the people are forced to give bribes, they do not do so willingly. So, to advise the people not to give bribe and that if they do not give bribe, this tendency would die its own death, is not correct. Rather it should be advised that they should desist from giving bribes. However, It is the responsibility of our leaders, our rulers to evolve such a system in which there will be no need of paying bribe. Strong action is required to be taken in this direction.

A system should be evolved whereby pending cases of corruption are decided or disposed of at the earliest. I had said on that day also and I would like to repeat the same since Prime Minister is also present here. If investigating agencies have forwarded some cases to Prime Minister's Secretariat in which permission has been sought for prosecution or filing chargesheets, then prompt decision should be taken in these cases. There should be no delay in this regard. We are against corruption. This fact should not be expressed in speeches alone but through conduct also. People should get testimony to it through word and deed. Stringent action is required. Discussion in regard to curbing criminalisation can be taken up with Election Commission also and an all-party meeting can be convened in this regard. There is need to find out some ways and means in this regard. Primarily we should try our best to

avoid breach of rights of even a handful of persons, if it is so, but it should not be done at the cost of the nation at large. There is a need of stern action to regain the lost confidence of the people.

13.00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, economic scenario was the subject of discussion. It was a fair discussion. We were pleasantly surprised when we listened to the speech of Shri Narasimha Rao. He is the founder of new economic policy. He initiated the policy of liberalisation. He did not go into the details of the matter but it appears from his suggestions and the way he put his views in twisted manner that such idea is taking shape even in his mind that the present liberalisation policy will not prove beneficial for our country. Only by promoting the small scale industries, we can save the small scale industries from extinction, promote the industries and extend the scheme of self-employment. An atmosphere conducive to it should be created for it. At present such atmosphere is created which is against the small scale industries. Foreign delegations come and meet me. Multinational media openly claim that small scale industries are destroying the resources of the country and that the funds are not being properly utilised by them. They say that in this era of Science and Technology what is the use of small-scale industry. Only we people can understand the importance of this industry.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO (Berhampur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make a submission. What I said the other day I have been saying the same thing time and again, which is in the record right from the day, when I announced the liberalisation policy five years ago.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, it requires no testimony. Your word is enough. But it is necessary to negate the conceptions by formed on the basis of the policies of your Government. In the discussion comparison has been made between China and India. It was said that China has made greater progress as compared to India. It is correct but to some extent and in some areas only. But while comparing these two countries one thing must be kept in mind that whatever progress we have achieved in our country it has been achieved under democratic set up. Whereas the system and set-up of China is altogether different, China is free to choose its own model or set-up.

But when we talk about our achievements, we cannot ignore the fact that we have tried to make progress by respecting the human rights. Although I am not satisfied with this progress. This aspect should be kept in mind especially by the people at the helm of affairs when we compare ourselves with China.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I will not take much time of the House. We all are eager to hear the Prime Minister. According to rules, if I would get the opportunity to speak after Prime Minister, the discussion would have a different colour. But now the benefit is that the Prime Minister will get the chance to reply to whatever I have said. The environment in which this discussion has taken place should be maintained, it should be permanent. But I know it will not remain for a long time. But we are initiating a new chapter. It is a good start. It is never too late to correct mistakes and then start again. It happens as per the requirement of the time. My three point suggestion has received wide support. I am grateful to the leaders of all the parties. There should be no disturbance during the Question Hour as well as at any other time. But the Question Hour should not be disrupted. My friend Shri Somnath Chatterjee has seen that we were very much concerned about the Question Hour. But, now, a consensus has developed. We should not go into the well of the House. Chaturananji has also said the same thing. One should do good and forget. There is no need to jump into the well. But now there are no wells. There are water taps now which can not take you very far. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we can speak effectively while standing at our respective seats. Members should come with full home work as they have done in the last five days and they should be attentive to the proceedings of the House. Sensitivity in Government is required for this. There should be no delay on the part of the Government in discharge of its duties. Public grievances should be redressed immediately. As was suggested the other day, back banchers should be given due time to express their views. Sitting on the front row we feel that only we are the most intelligent people. Members sitting on the back benches should also be considered because they are also intelligent, they also come with preparation and I was astonished when I heard some of their speeches and felt that where were these gems till now.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, to search these gems you had to wait for the golden jubilee celebrations. The lessons we have learnt during this period should be followed and we should help in smooth running of the House and give a concrete form to the ideas of general consensus on the national problems. Only comments are not sufficient we should give shape to these words. If we are unanimous on the issues of national importance, the entire nation can be united at the time of crisis and can face the challenge. Thanks a lot.

[English]

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Do you want to lay your speech?

SHRI M. KAMALUDDIN AHMED (Hanamkonda) : Sir, I want to lay my speech on the Table.

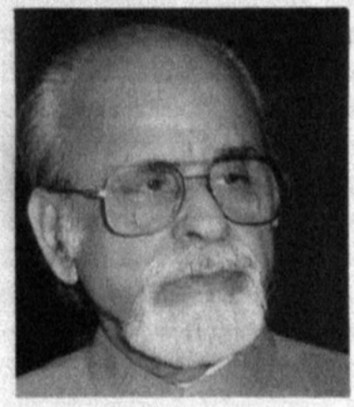
MR. SPEAKER : Please lay it quickly. Have you laid it on the Table?

SHRI M. KAMALUDDIN AHMED : Yes. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Is that all?

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It is very nice. All the speeches that have been laid on the Table of the House will form a part of the proceedings.



SHRI I.K. GUJRAL

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI I.K. GUJRAL) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I address myself to the topic of the day, may I join my worthy colleague, the Leader of the Opposition, in extending to you my hearty greetings and greetings of this House on the occasion of your 50th birthday? We wish you many happy returns of this day.

You were born a fortnight after India became free. It, therefore, looks curious of Providence that your 50th birthday also occurs in the 50th year of Independence. I believe that a greater future awaits you in the service of the nation as a greater future awaits this nation. My compliments to you!

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much.

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I also compliment you for this novel idea that you projected regarding this discussion itself? I must say and I confess that–of course, it was unprecedented–in the entire history of 50 years of our Republic, this has happened for the first time.

Once again, I join Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in complimenting you for this perception. Many of us–I have been very frank–both on that side and this side were initially having doubts as to how this would proceed, how much interest will be taken, how many Members will really speak on the subjects that we were thinking of. Sometimes these doubts were also verging on scepticism. This discussion, I must say, as it proceeded for so many days and in such a laborious way the Members have participated, has belied those disbeliefs and those doubts.

The discussion has been of a very high level. I think never in my long association with Parliament have I witnessed so much enthusiasm and so much interest on the part of Members that they could sit overnight and participate in the debate. And also, as Atal Ji rightly said, all of them–I must compliment all my colleagues in the House from all sides—took pains to prepare themselves on the subjects they were speaking. The same thing happened with the House also. Therefore, in a way it is a compliment to the entire Parliamentary system.

Hon. Members, I must say, have exhibited remarkable courage, vision and capacity to rise above the normal din that we witness in our debates in normal times. That has been belied in these five days. Collective introspection is something new for us but all the same I think this could be the best homage that this House could pay to the Golden Anniversary of our republic. Therefore, all that has happened in the last few days is something, Mr. Speaker, for which credit goes to you once again. The discussion, may I repeat, sometimes continued, as I said, till the early hours of the day or night, I do not know whether day or night because sometimes the whole night sitting was going on. The discussion has been useful, educative and thought provoking and very often we discovered the un-discovered dimensions of our democratic polity. As an institution Parliament has touched new heights and its capacity to rise above the Party affiliations and examine with remarkable objectivity the achievements and shortfalls of these 50 years. Some of the speeches that one heard here and in the other House persuade us to believe that the nation continues to produce great minds and great ideas. The nation continues to rededicate itself, as it did on the first day of our Republic, and therefore, in that spirit this debate has proceeded.

I have taken note of what hon. Members have said. As my worthy colleague, the Leader of the Opposition has suggested, definitely we will go through all that has been said and compile them and also initiate action on various issues that have been mentioned here. I have been called upon to speak at this stage when I am expected to sum up the discussion. This is a very gigantic task and I dare not do it because it is not easy. All that has been said in the wise words that have been uttered in the last five days or so and the specific issues that have been raised, it may not be feasible nor possible for me to respond to all of them.

At some time, on some occasion some of my colleagues have participated in the debate and projected their points of

view. I will not try to repeat what has been said. I will only try to say myself that the debate has inspired me a great deal. It has made me think a lot about what India is and what is the definition of India, particularly in the 50th year. We are re-defining ourselves and this re-definition has been very helpful because all my worthy colleagues sitting in this House and that House have put in very remarkable vision and ideas. Sometimes I felt that the discussion touched the borders of sublimity. Sometimes I felt that we are rising above ourselves in a sublime manner and I also felt that the most important was our country, our nation. The struggle for independence has been the background of our discussion. We have also seen and felt that this struggle that we are talking of which built the freedom on 15th August, 1947, was in a way, I think, the continuation of our civilisation.

When we look at our civilisation, its peaks and valleys, we discover what made our freedom struggle succeed. The saga of freedom struggle is a long one. I will not take your time to talk about the freedom struggle, its life and the history which it had passed through. But one thing was very clear. When we look back to those eras, the Gandhian times, we go back to this perception again and again that freedom struggle succeeded primarily because it was deeply rooted in our own soil, in our own civilisation, in our own culture. Gandhian vision, and his sources of inspiration were all indigenous. Gandhian sources of inspiration were not alien. They were not imported from other countries; they were born here.

When Gandhiji talked, again and again, of *dharma; dharma,* being the basic root of Indian freedom struggle, was something which really brought to our minds and to our struggle a new orientation. Of course, when he talked of *dharma* he meant something different than religion; he meant something different than cult; he meant something different than, what we commonly call, the Church. He meant *dharma* in a wider definition. I am one of those who believe, and I think this House also believes, that one word which cannot be translated into any non-Indian language is the word *dharma.* That was where Gandhi went home.

Gandhiji never tried to build a cult. He never tried to build a *math.* It was basically an approach that was based on compassion more than anything else. In this, when we look back at Gandhiji, his perceptions, his vision, his way of conducting things more and more, an idea comes to my mind, and that is, his compassion often reminded of the Great Buddha. To me, he brought continuity of that compassion which Buddha spelt out for the whole world. Very often, the ideas and ideals that were originally in Gandhian thinking were so unfamiliar to us. Sometimes they bewildered us and sometimes they gave a new interpretation and a new meaning to those very words. He started thinking differently on one wider scale of the nation. It is a remarkable thing that Gandhiji used old idioms, old dictums and old words that we have been used to; gave them a new meaning and used them for mobilisation, for mass upsurge. Some people who thought that they were intellectually bright at that time were bewildered. Sometimes they were confused because they were not really prepared to see that old idioms could be given new meanings of the type that Gandhiji was giving them.

As our mass upsurge turned into a tide and achieved what it did, the Indian freedom struggle fully appreciated the civilisational unity of India. The main quest of the Indian civilisation always was built on respecting diversities–the vast diversities that we in our lives experienced and continue to experience, different languages, different cultures, different historical experiences, different ways of life–and yet to find a strain where they all join. Gandhiji's basic contribution was to rediscover the unity of those diversities. This continues to be the benchmark of our nation. This, in these fifty years, we have learnt. We have, again and again, said that our liberation struggle achieved what it did because of this perception. If Gandhiji at that time had emphasised one thing, or had emphasised one religion, or had emphasised one way of life, the struggle would never have succeeded; India would never have been unified.

Therefore, we must repeat to ourselves, Sir, and with your permission I must submit to the House, that this unity of diversities is the flag that must continue to fly high on the strong mast of Indian liberation. This is the basic thing.

We do mistake in that sometimes. Sometimes we feel that, perhaps, uniformity is more important than unity of diversities. This nation, may I repeat in all humility, will never remain united, will never remain together; if we start trying to cast it in the mould of uniformity. We must respect our languages; we must respect our ways of life; we must respect our religions; we must respect our beliefs; we must respect our historical experiences. Then, and then only will this nation be able to continue to call itself with pride, a nation that is called India.

Indian nation is again a nation of diversities. That is the challenge, if I may say so, for the next 50 years or a century, that is before us. If we are able to recognise this fact, then we do not get lost in the bylanes of trying to emphasise one way of life or one language or one religion, then we will never lose our way. If we do not that mistake will be very expensive for us. Sometimes political myopia, sometimes expediency of a particular movement, a particular election compulsion, may blind us and may try to emphasise one

caste or one religion or one language to get votes. I think, one determination that must emerge from this House today is that we shall never let that happen.

Once we are able to emphasise that we have our diversities which we respect, that we have our different ways of living, that we have our different faiths and therefore, we shall respect each other. We shall not read on other's toes. We shall not try to do things which can possibly hurt the feelings and the emotions of another fellow Indian. We always talk in terms of India first and Indian first. Yes, 'India first and Indian first' is a product of this perception and it is a way of life. If we respect each other, if we do not try to break our perceptions, hearts and minds, than India's future will always be secured. This is the pitfall against which we must guard the *mantra,* if I may say so. I am not a *pundit* in the sense Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is, but let me say that the *mantra*, to my mind, of a great unified India that stands on the threshold of greatness is three-fold: accommodate, tolerate, respect diversities–and also discreetly mix continuity and change. Continuity is important because without continuity there can be stagnation. Our languages, our music, our poetry, our philosophies are all invigorated in the bygone centuries in the past and will continue to do so if we have the capacity to assimilate and adjust.

Years ago, an Urdu poet said:

"Unan-O-Misra Roma
Sab Mit Gaye Jahan Sey
Kutch Bat hai ki hasti
Mitati Nahi Hamari."

What is that which has preserved us? What is this *kuch baat?* I hope, we will always keep in mind that this *kuch baat* is this unification of diversities, respecting, the process of assimilation, courage to assimilate, courage to reject what we do not want and the courage to assimilate what helps us. This invigorated our cultures in the past and will continue to do so. And that is why, I feel, this is very important, that we should discover this *kuch baat,* at every stage of our growth—today; yesterday, we did it; tomorrow, we must continue. To quote Iqbal :

[Translation]

'Kutch bat hey key hasti mitati nahi hamari'

[English]

This is the legacy of our past and this is the challenge for future. This challenge, I think, we have made by continuing rediscovering ourselves, by continuing interpreting ourselves, by continuing redefining ourselves, by continuing invigorating ourselves, at the same time, keeping our feet firmly in our soil, in our tradition, in our civilisation.

That is very important. No change, as Nehru used to say, must throw us of our feet. No change must be such that we give up our roots. No change must be such it takes us away from our civilisation. At the same time, we should have the capacity. Yes, we had in the past to try to imbibe what you think is in our interest. The world today is now standing or has already entered a new era of change. Unprecedented, never seen in the history of mankind, the technological change, the change ushered in by science. All through the history of man, ever since he was born, I do not think this kind of experience has ever been made. Therefore, now at this stage, we must decide for the future to come and this is my plea to you, Sir, and to the House.

India must decide that in the era of new change of technology of science, India must occupy a vanguard position, must be standing on the front benches, must stand in the front rows, imbibe new technology because new creativeness must be born out of this. Out of this new creativity shall India once again be great India that has always been.

Therefore, on these new frontiers of sciences, new frontiers of technology, new thoughts must be generated, new ideas must be born and new discoveries must be made. That is how we can also accept the challenge and also use it as our opportunities. Only this alone will facilitate, I repeat alone this one, our courage, our vision, our determination to occupy the front ranks of this change, shall we be able to occupy a position which will facilitate India crossing over the threshold.

India today stands on the threshold of greatness and that greatness is within our reach, within our grasp. We can do it and we must. That is a challenge for the next Century or, if I may say so, for next fifty years.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia had come here once. He had said, "The challenge is of 20:20". He was talking metaphorical and also, in a way, talking in terms of vision. After all the best eyesight in the world is 20:20. That is why 20:20 challenge we also have to accept. That 20:20 is a challenge of technology and is a challenge of change. Therefore, that discreet change must be the objective that India must, now, follow.

We must keep in mind, at the same time, Sir, that the social intellectual objectives of this nation is not to watch only with wonder what others are doing; it is not only to see

that somebody has landed on the Moon; and it is not only to read in the newspapers that we can also get if others have gone into satellite technology. We have to do it ourselves. This drama of change, of big change, that the world is seeing must be imbibed, not only by a few scientists, not only by a few hundred of those who go to the technological institutions and not only even by few thousands but I think the challenge before us is that the *Laxman Rekha* must be crossed by the entire nation in totality. Unless the entire nation crosses it and enters into an era of technology, the nation will not really be able to gain its position. When I talk of the entire nation, I particularly talk of the youth.

Youth are a majority in this country. They are exposed to new education. They are exposed to new technology. It is the duty of this Government, it is the duty of this Parliament, it is the duty of all of us collectively to facilitate that youth gets into this new era of science and technology, not only the youth the women also.

The most backward section of our society is women. Through education, through giving them their due, through empowerment of women, we can facilitate that they are also able to walk into this new era of change and, particularly, apart from women, those sections of society which for centuries are suffering from bondage of backwardness. For centuries and centuries, society has been unfair to them. Since centuries and centuries, the society has not given them their due. Today, when it is technologically feasible, when scientifically it is possible to banish poverty and backwardness, all of us must move together.

If I am asked, what is the challenge before the nation today, I would spell it like this. Backwardness can be and must be banished, socially, economically and technologically. If we are able to do these three things, then of course, we will be able to take and show it to the entire nation the daylight. Exposure to a new light is a challenge for the future.

This is all inclusive vision–and I am saying it all inclusive—that inclusive means all sections of society, all communities, all religions, all areas of our life and all genders of our life—we must be exposed to this.

With this as a central point, all our policies regarding our education, social policies, political policies and policies on social change and social justice must be borne out of this basic perception. Once this basic perception is clear, then policy making is a matter of detail. If you are confused in this objective, then policies are also greatly confused. The details, of course, can be worked out. Details can be discussed in this august body and House and changes can be effected.

When I talk in terms of expanding frontiers of science and technology, I am also conscious that a new generation is also occupying our lives and this new scenario is also having both positive and negative impacts on us.

We all talk of satellite. We all talk of television. We all talk of the programmes that we have been exposed to. This is not for me at this stage or at least this morning to try to spell out what our media policy should be. But I would also like to keep in mind the fact that Satellites, TVs, various dimensions of telecommunications and also the transport and travel are determining and influencing change in us. Attitudinal change is coming. The change is coming in social relationship. The change is coming in looking at each other that India also like the rest of the world has shrunk in size. Travelling has made it easier. Telephones have made it easier. The fax has made it much easier and so on and so forth. Now these social relationships are dramatic. The change is coming in the lives of all of us. When I say 'all' I mean all. Even those sections of society which are deprived, change is coming in them also. And that change spells itself in various ways sometimes in the shape of demands and sometimes in the shape of agitations. But this exposure to new world is now making its impacts. Sometimes, this impact is not positive, sometimes it affects negatively our cultures, sometimes, it negatively affects our ways of life, sometimes, it makes both positive and negative impact on our languages, on our music and on our literature. Sometimes, it is gainful, as I said and sometimes it is negative and partly harmful.

Therefore, when we review our cultural policies, when we review our educational policies, all these policies must try to be discreet–how much to change and how much to imbibe and how much not to imbibe. That is where the collective wisdom of this House will be very helpful.

It is not possible for one person, it is not possible even for a few in the Cabinet to try to visualise the entire drama. At a much wider scale, it is to be discussed, in this House and outside the House, amongst the intelligentsia, amongst the intellectuals, amongst the social organisations and amongst all the NGOs. They must tell us all the time. And this interaction basically is a real meaning of democracy. This interaction all the time is very important that we keep on focussing our minds on it.

But at the same time, when I pointed out that there can be some harmful impacts also, I must repeat with all the strength that I can, that we must under no circumstances–and I repeat–under no circumstances, shut our windows. We must not come to a stage when we close our minds.

India has never done it. All through our civilisation of history, the importance of India has been that it has always

kept its windows open. Last time, when poet Tagore said that famous song we all remember "keep your windows open. Let the winds come in. Know how to imbibe them." Gandhiji said the same thing. That is the *mantra* again for us for the future. Therefore, while determining the media policies, education policies, economic policies, we must know how to deliberate and also talk in terms of change, discrete change imbibing whatever we think is good for us, assimilating whatever we can.

India has never, in its entire history, been a rejectionist. India has never been a rejectionist. India has always been on the side of assimilation. Look at the fate of our music, look at our own languages, look at Hindi and Urdu's worth. Anything that I look at, I think it is a demonstration and manifestation, all the time, of our capacity to imbibe, taking and rejecting whatever was not good for us.

I have deliberately at this stage not mentioned the impact all this has on the foreign policy. I have talked of cultural policy, I have talked of educational policy and, I have talked of media policy.

But, particularly, when I talk of foreign policy, I feel that the history of our civilisation has also been, as I said, non-rejectionist. But, at the same time, it has been open to the world. Whether I talk of today or I talk of yesteryears, India always was in the world vision. I cannot recall any phase in the long Indian history when India did not have a world vision. If it is the era of Ashoka, he was a person who talked in terms of sending a message of Buddha across the world. If we think in terms of any change in our society, we always, viewed ourselves as a part of the world and as a part of that outlook. Our nation-state–I emphasise about nation-state–when I say that, though our nation-state was born on 15th August, 1947, the Indian civilisation was much longer; the national perception was much longer; our commonalities and visions were much longer and, therefore, we had always imbibed the ideas, thoughts and philosophies from giving to the world and taking from the world. The uniqueness of this phenomena was that all the time that India walked on a two-way stick. It let others come in; it also went out. That is why, India, all the time, gave to the world and brought the world to India.

When I think of Khusro or think of even further that, I always think in the sense that India was open to the world and world was open to India. That has been the basis of our perceptions. We have never confined to an era in the 5,000 years of our civilisation when different forms, different idioms were not used for this purpose going out to the world and taking to the world inside us. Primarily because of this, the Indian civilisation was invigorated. *(Interruptions)*

The interesting contour of our Indian civilisation, If I may say so, was an in-built resilience and all the resilience was that we did reject whatever was not suitable to us. We did take in whatever we think was good for us. But at no stage in our history we let others overwhelm us. This process of assimilation and defiance was simultaneous. All the time, we knew where to defy and also, at the same time, we knew where to take in situations.

Of course, the eras were different than today. The communications methodology was different. One had to walk to distant lands and the letters were also sent on the horseback. That is the time consuming factor. The result of it was that the focus of, Indian sub-continent was proliferated. In the north of the continent, we interacted more with the landmass of Central Asia. We did that all historically. We mostly remained oblivious of the dangers coming from that side of the seas and not remained oblivious of these things.

I have been reminded of an incident when Aurangzeb's family wanted to go to Mecca. He had to take *visa* from the Portuguese from Surat. It did not occur to him that the seas around India also belonged to the Indian Empire. No, it did not. Similarly, we see that the military power was also not maritime oriented of the North. The South, on the contrary, went the other way. All States of the South were more conscious of the seas. Presumably, in Calicut, for instance, they were able to push back the Portuguese for nearly the best part of the century because it was a marine power. Also, in a cultural sphere, the South interacted more to the East, the Buddhist message going to other far-off areas like, Indonesia, Japan and China.

They had marine consciousness. But, at the same time, their security perception was not land conscious. And that is why there was a strange dilemma to see and perceive by both sides. The North was not sea conscious and the South was not so much land conscious. They both suffered in different ways. And that is how the sovereignty suffered. I think this myopia also ignored that the sea is now becoming increasingly important. As technology came, as the steamship came and as other technologies started coming in, it became more and more important for this sub-continent to see that ultimately the sea power matters. But, even more important than that, and I think more important for us, is to keep in mind in the present days the preparedness of our war machines. India, unfortunately, never became conscious of the fact that wars are not fought only with valour, they are also fought with technologies. And that is why when the Northerners and the across the sea powers started coming in, their war machines and war technologies were different than we had. We had all the valour but we were always one step backward.

At the time when Babar came, that was one manifestation. The time when the British came, that was another manifestation. When the Portuguese came, that was one more manifestation. Therefore, may I submit that this House may decide with determination and with commitment that this shall never happen again. In technology we shall never be left behind. Our valoured armies, our brave armies, our brave forces, shall always be given the latest in technology that the security of India demands. This historical lesson we have learnt and this lesson of history we shall never forget. And that is why it is important that wherever we go, we must keep in mind that when on the cultural level we can keep our minds open, when we can keep on spreading the message of our civilisation, at the same time, on the level of security also we must keep our mind open.

Our foreign policy must keep in mind the fact that only those foreign policies ultimately succeed which is security conscious and are vigilant. And security is a wider conception. It is not only arms, it is also inner stability. It is also food security, it is also security of inter-relationship. If the armies are going to be involved more and more in our internal squabbles, then our security becomes dangerous. If our internal peace is not secured, then the defence becomes very vulnerable. If we keep on quarreling amongst ourselves, we become a tempting target of those who want to come in. And that is why the broader concept of security is important. The main features of that broader concept of security, may I repeat, are technologically updating ourselves, unifying the nation all the time, trying to see to it that our inner squabbles do not reach that stage when armies have to be involved inside and also, at the same time, economic stability an economic social justice. Social justice is not only a matter of social justice, it is also a matter of security. Any socially unjust society can never be secure. Therefore, it is very important for us to keep in mind that when we talk in terms of social justice, it also has a defence orientation.

Some of us who are in my generation will remember that in our school and college days, we read the *Discovery of India* written by Nehruji, which he wrote without reference to any text book or to any reference book in the narrow cells of the jail. He reminded us all the time of two things. He reminded of India which had inherent strength, he reminded of India which had cultural roots in the soil, he reminded of India of the change that India was undergoing, he reminded of India which had the capacity to change with the times. Therefore, it was only till the colonial era came that this problem became very difficult. The civilisation and unity of India was disturbed by the foreign colonial rulers who came from the West and, therefore, the Westerners not only tried to destroy our civilisation and unity but it continued till we got back our courage to defy them. Once the defiance came and once our determination was roused by Gandhiji, we defied it continuously and the same process continued–both assimilation and defiance.

When I talk of Raja Rammohan Roy or I talk of Tagore or I talk of Sir Syed Ali, all these added one chapter or the other–assimilation and defiance. And that is how India's struggle took a new shape. When I think of Gandhiji and Tagore particularly, I think they were twins. They were twins in many ways and I am not going to quote what Tagore wrote nor I am going to draw your attention. But Tagore had one vision and that vision always was that he thought narrow nationalism is not the future of India. He always emphasised the humanism, the humanistic message of India. Two days back I was speaking in Shanti Niketan. Shri Somnath Chatterjee was there. In Shanti Niketan I reminded them of the famous novel which Tagore wrote that is *Ghare Bore*. ...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : It is *Ghare Baire*.

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL : Excuse me for bad Bengali pronunciation.

When he wrote over this, he always tried to remind us that even in the upsurge of nationalism we must not forget the world. And that was what Tagore told us. Gandhiji in his 'Experiments with Truth', that began in South Africa, opened a new dimension for us. A while ago I have said that we were conscious of Central Asia, we were conscious of some parts of the sea and when the British came, the Portuguese came and the French came, we were conscious of Europe.

Gandhiji added a new dimension to our knowledge–dark South Africa's role. We were not conscious of it till Gandhiji came on the scene. Gandhiji, I have said at other place, was physically born in India but politically he was born in South Africa. And, therefore, he now forged a new link between those hopelessly, helplessly struggling dark dimensions of the African soil with our freedom struggle. This became a part of our freedom struggle. Gandhiji and also Nehru particularly further opened our windows wider. Spanish civil war was going on. It looked very strange to some of us at that time when he decided to send a mission to Spanish civil war–all before freedom. China was struggling. Kotnis was sent. When we think of Russia he talked and saw of Soviet Union a new experiment in civilisation. It may succeed, it may fail. That was a different issue altogether. But he saw in that a political expression of social justice and also the world was brought close to us. They, both of them together, divided the world into two–the

world of the oppressor and the world of the oppressed. And our sides were very clear. From day one in the freedom struggle itself we were on the side and a natural ally of those who were oppressed. When Nazism came and Tagore tried and wrote his famous poem which I will not read again, because of paucity of time. But Tagore gave a message that those coming from Japan, trying to profess Budhism, the compassionate Budhism and treading in the civilisation of China, he raised protest against them. So did Nehru; so did Gandhi. That is how the freedom struggle's basic purpose and basic vision was spelt.

Sir, this rising Indian freedom struggle, since you were born 15 days after the 15th August, I must remind you, rose on the ashes of Nazism, it rose on the ashes of Fascism, it rose on the ashes of militaries and, therefore, there is a strange type of link that we have with the forces of peace. Nehru and Gandhiji together convened the first Asia Conference before even we became formally free. What was the message? The basic message was that we are all on the side of those who are still colonised. And the last de-colonisation which has been done now, the last but one perhaps, in a small way is the transfer of Hong Kong.

As Prime Minister here, I received an invitation from the Chinese to participate in that function in Hong Kong. We also received invitation from the British. We responded to the invitation of China. The British was a liquidation of empire. We have no sympathy with them.

We had all sympathies with the liquidation of imperialism in Hong Kong. With Hong Kong, we have one more link. After all, the opium war was fought from the Indian soil. What was the opium war about? Those who today protest against drugs, they forget that they went to war on the issue that British India must continue to have a right to transport, export opium to China. That was a war and therefore, they took over Hong Kong. Therefore, we have a great sympathy and great admiration for those who have ultimately liquidated that.

The Asia Conference, as I said, was a message against colonisation. It was a message against war, it was a message against camps. That is how our foreign policy was born. Our foreign policy, and I think my worthy colleague Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has spelt out himself, was not made in a book. It did not come out of any text-book; it came out of the experience of the freedom struggle. Therefore, out of this, we were able to learn three lessons.

There were three messages from those who were responsible for making it at one stage or the other. The first one is to stay free, keep Indian foreign policy free, independent, do not give in and keep your chin up all the time. I state with pride that in these 50 years, that has been done. No pressure on any Government, this one or the one preceding it, has ever succeeded on cowing down India. The second message, was 'always stand with the oppressed'. We have stood with the oppressed. The third message was 'always oppose tyranny wherever it is, and be always on the side of the peace'. Diplomacy in Indian history had a purpose. And the purpose was to transform diplomacy and not to transact.

[Translation]

There was no bargaining. Indian Foreign policy never entered into any negotiations.

[English]

It had never tried to give and take. It had stood for transformation of the attitudes, transformation of the world relationships, and never tried to transact. We always had ideals. Ideas are input but ideals have always been preserved. Therefore, on this, we built the concept of non-alignment. The non-alignment gave us new friends, those who had a colonial experience, those who had passed through difficult times, those who were victims of apartheid, colour victims, and also those who were standing on that side and I am particularly referring to the Soviet Union.

In the new phase that began on 15th August, 1947, we continued the same policies. We always stood on these basic things, whether it was Vietnam, whether it was Korea, whether it was China or South Africa. I can go on counting. There are numerous countries. Every time, our vision was clear. Our courage was our best ally. We never minded isolation because isolation does not decide it. Very often, we paid the price also, but all the same we never gave in. The Cold War did cause us difficulties. Therefore, we were misunderstood also. But the worst thing that happened to our region was that in this region of ours, tensions were imposed. Tensions were not born in, tensions were imposed in this region by arms and by everything else. Therefore, this was done all the time and that continues to cause us difficulties. We believe and the Indian foreign policy believes, not today but always, in the unity, friendship and cooperation of South Asia and we are trying to form that policy. We were partitioned geographically, physically but at the same time, this diversion is something which was furthered when the strategic perceptions underwent a change. Indian strategic perception was different than the one that was imposed from outside.

I am not going to take more of your time, Sir, but I would also say at the same time that the end of the Cold War now gives and imposes new challenges and new

opportunities also. The world has not suddenly become peaceful. It is not. At the same time, the globalisation and regionalisation are the two things that have come to the fore and we see them sleeping in the same bed. We have to have a global vision, but we have also to have regional initiatives. That is what we are trying to do. The next century is generally believed to be the Asian century. That is where the opportunity for India comes.

And that is where we now have to play our role. That anchor frame of Indian policy, therefore, is SAARC friendship and cooperation. We have succeeded in creating new relationships with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka. About Pakistan, I refer in a minute. ASEAN is now our neighbour. By Myanmar joining the ASEAN, even our land borders have joined. Therefore, our neighbourly relations have to be inculcated there also. Similarly, Indian Ocean Rim Association is now our neighbour and we are now a founder member of that Association. The trilateral treaty between Turkmanistan, India and Iran now gives us a new access into Central Asia and we must build on that also.

In keeping with our firm approach of building strong ties of friendship and cooperation with all our neighbouring countries, we have always sought a relationship of mutual trust, friendship and cooperation with Pakistan. The resumption of Foreign Secretary level dialogue was a step in that direction. As hon. Members are aware, a joint statement was issued at the conclusion of Islamabad round talks in June. The next round is now due in Delhi in September and we have suggested the dates to Pakistan. Their response is awaited. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief and I will be in New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly Session and if opportunity comes my way, I will be happy to meet him. Hon. Members will recall that I had a useful meeting with him in Male in May last.

Sir, I will take a minute more, before I conclude, to say something that I must say in passing. The relationship of India with the United States of America, the countries of Europe, Japan, China and Russia continues to be very steady and very friendly. The only thing that I would like to say here is that our relations with the United States of America are improving and a series of visits to India from Washington are planned for the coming months. As hon. Members are aware, President Clinton is also expected to visit India sometime next year. I have also received a proposal from the American side for a meeting with President Clinton in New York during the forthcoming Session of the United Nations General Assembly. While considering this proposal, I made it clear to the Americans that India-Pakistan relations and attempts at mediation between India and Pakistan are not to be on the agenda, a position which the Americans have accepted. I wish to reassure the House that the secular unity and integrity of India is not open to negotiations.

There is much to be discussed between two largest democracies in the world and if meeting takes place, I am looking forward to a friendly and substantive discussion with President Clinton which will focus on our bilateral ties and also on issues of common interests relating to Asia-Pacific Region, in particular.

Sir, if time had permitted I would have addressed various issues. But I cannot restrain from referring to one issue which my friend Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has talked about. It is about corruption and criminalisation of politics. During the course of his speech, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had regretted that there was a delay in bringing the Lok Pal Bill before Parliament. He also suggested that all political leaders should be required to declare their assets, including those of their relatives. As hon. Members are aware, the Lok Pal Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on the 13th September, 1996. The Bill was referred to the Standing Committee of Parliament on Home Affairs which has since submitted its report. The recommendations of the Standing Committee are under consideration of the Government. A revised Bill, taking into account the recommendations of the Committee, will be introduced in the forthcoming Session of Parliament. Let us hope this law will be a significant step towards cleaning our polity and the evil of corruption.

Sir, Shri Vajpayee, referring to a news item in the Press, mentioned that 194 proposal of the C.B.I. for sanction of prosecution were pending in the Prime Minister's Office.

14.00 hrs.

The factual position is that not even one is pending in the Prime Minister's Office. But all the same, there were 157 CBI proposals pending with different Central Ministries and State Governments. Out of these, 141 were pending with the Central Ministers. As a part of the drive against corruption, a special effort has been made to speed up the issue of sanction for prosecution in public servants involved in corruption cases. The Government of India has brought down the number of cases from 141, at the end of March 1997, to 79 at present. All Secretaries to the Government of India have been given strict instructions to clear the backlog within 15 days and to ensure that all fresh cases are decided in a month's time. There has also been concern expressed about the quality of investigation and follow-up of corruption cases in the courts. Measures to improve the present state of affairs including the setting up of an institutional mechanism in the Government is also being

finalised. The Government is taking steps to review and streamline the existing vigilance procedures in consultation with the State Governments as to ensure that corruption cases are disposed of expeditiously in a time-bound manner. In pursuance, a Conference of the Heads of the Anti-Corruption Bureau of States and the Vigilance Officers of various public undertakings has been fixed for 4th and 5th of September, that is, in two days' from now. This will be followed by a Conference of Chief Ministers.

Regarding transparency, the Government constituted a Working Group under the Chairmanship of Shri H.D. Shourie on Right to Information. We intend introducing the Right to Information Bill in the next Session of Parliament.

I will not take your time to dwell at length about the electoral reforms because I think that enjoys the consensus of the House. I will soon come with a Bill before an all-party meeting so that we can evolve a new consensus on this and come to a conclusion.

I could have talked about many other things, but I know the limitations of time. If you permit me, Sir, I will place them on the Table of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do so. Thank you very much.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly) : Sir, will you give me half-a-minute.

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARTI (Khajuraho) : The Prime Minister did not mention about the reservation policy for women.

[English]

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL : Let me finish....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani) : Sir, the Prime Minister, who is also the Foreign Minister, has forgotten one very important point. He has forgotten to mention about India's concern to stake its claim for membership in the Security Council. This matter has been discussed in the Congress Party. The Prime Minister is going to America and Mr. Clinton is also coming to India....*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARTI : Mr. Prime Minister, please tell about the reservation for women.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not the way. Please do not spoil the solemnity of this occasion. It is not possible for the Prime Minister to mention everything.

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL : Sir, with your permission, I am lying on the Table of the House the notes that I have on Cooperative Federalism, on Planning: Its structural role in the context of liberalisation, on Food Security and Public Distribution System, on Water Resources and Drinking Water, on Education and Literacy, on Population Issues, on Policy Initiatives in Infrastructure Development, on Bio-diversity, on the Panchayati Raj Institutions, and also on Social Justice that we have followed. This, I think, will help the Members because I may not be able to take more time.

Sir, my hon. friend has raised one point. *(Interruptions)* Let me finish and then I will come to you. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister may please elucidate upon criminalisation of politics.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Sir, this is not proper.

MR. SPEAKER : Order please.

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL : Mr. Speaker, let me conclude by saying that I think the House and the Nation has benefited a lot from these discussions. Let me repeat what I said and pay my complement and homage to all the Members of Parliament, both in this House and that, with the remarkable way this discussion has been conducted. This was unusual in one way more. We were not having repartee, and we were not trying to cross swords here. We were all trying to present our vision of future.

I think it is the collective vision of the future of the nation.

Notes Laid on the Table of the House by the Prime Minister while summing up the discussion on the Motion moved by Shri A.B. Vajpayee

I. Co-operative Federalism

The emergence of multi-party system has necessarily led to different parties or coalition of parties coming to power

at the Centre and the States. This has brought the issue of Centre-State relations into sharper focus than ever before. The relations between the Centre and the States are governed by the Constitution which envisages a federal structure with clear division of legislative and executive powers. While there is a fair balance between the needs of the Centre and the States, the Constitution has also placed at the hands of the Centre, adequate powers to ensure unity and integrity of the country.

The Sarkaria Commission which went into the entire gamut of Centre-State relations came to the conclusion that there was no need for structural changes as a strong Centre is a *sine qua non* not only for protection and preservation of independence and unity of the country but also for coordination of a uniform policy on the basic issues of national concern. The Inter-State Council has been activated and has been able to reach a consensus on important issues. We are moving towards an era of co-operative federalism where we can address our concerns and find solutions to our problems in a spirit of accommodation.

II. Democratic Decentralisation : Panchayati Raj Institutions

The introduction of Panchayati Raj Institutions under the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 was a momentous and epoch making event. Granting Constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj Institutions is the most significant step for strengthening democracy since India adopted its Constitution in 1950. Although elections have been held in most of the country, actual devolution of powers is yet to take place in many States.

I have recently held a meeting of the Chief Ministers and set in motion the process of consultation to accelerate the pace of empowerment of panchayats. The Chief Ministers had mentioned some practical difficulties. To resolve these problems, we have constituted a committee of Chief Ministers which will deliberate and come out with specific proposals for effective empowerment of the Panchayati Raj Institutions.

III. Planning and its changing role in the context of Liberalisation

The Indian economy still has a large number of citizens who live in acute poverty, both in rural and urban areas. Large disparities exist across regions and across various social groups. The market mechanism cannot be expected to correct these disparities on its own. Indeed, in the absence of appropriate planning and judicious Government intervention, market forces may tend to accentuate such disparities. The country suffers from poor provision of basic social infrastructure, such as safe drinking water, primary health and primary education facilities, which are fundamental to determining the quality of life of our people. These are areas in which private initiatives are unlikely to play any major role, and it would be the primary responsibility of the Government to ensure that appropriate interventions are made.

Rapid and sustained growth of the economy requires that the requisite social and economic infrastructure are provided in adequate measure and at high levels of efficiency. While private initiatives can contribute in part to the provision of these facilities, it has to be dovetailed with public action since there are elements of economic infrastructure and specific regions of the country in which the economic viability of projects may not be sufficient to generate adequate private investment. Consequently, Government interventions are required to provide adequate levels of assurance to private entrepreneurs for investing in such areas.

With the liberalisation of the Indian economy the planning methodology has to take account of the nature of the institutions that will need to be evolved and encouraged in order to provide the basic facilities through which market mechanisms can work and to ensure development in areas which would not be addressed through them. This requires a gradual but perceptible shift from central directions to decentralised and participatory delivery mechanisms involving people's participation in the planning process.

IV. Food Security and Public Distribution System

India has made great strides in food production. It is a matter of gratification that the country is now in a position to feed its ever-increasing population. With a view to removing the deficiencies in the existing Public Distribution System a new scheme called the Targetted Public Distribution System (TPDS) has been launched throughout the country with effect from June 1, 1997. Under this scheme, we provide foodgrains at specially subsidised rates to the poorest and most vulnerable sections of society. There have been demands from several States for increasing the scale of issue and also for increasing the allocation. We will be convening a conference of Chief Ministers during September, 1997 to evolve a consensus and arrive at an acceptable formula on this issue.

V. Water Resources and Drinking Water

Water like food is a basic human need and a precious national resource. We need water for different purposes like drinking, washing, irrigation, power generation, navigation and industry. Though our water resources are

abundant, their temporal and spatial distribution on the one hand and increasing population on the other are putting pressure on availability of usable water. We have recently constituted a National Commission for preparing Integrated Water Resources Development Plan with a view to optimise benefits through economic use of available water. One of the terms of reference of the Commission is to suggest modalities for transfer of surplus water to water deficit basins by inter-linking of rivers. We are confident that the Commission will come out with practical suggestions for implementation to make water available to the entire population in adequate measures. Our top most priority and foremost challenge will, however, be the provision of clean drinking water to everyone. This we hope to achieve by a comprehensive water policy. The Government is committed to provide safe drinking water to the entire population of the country before the end of the 9th Plan.

VI. Education

Education is not only a crucial factor for success in developmental efforts but also integral to human rights. It is in recognition of this that the Common Minimum Programme of the Government has pledged that elementary education would be made a fundamental right. We have already introduced the Fundamental Rights Bill in the Rajya Sabha to make this a reality.

A major task in operationalising this political will would be to garner sufficient resources. This has to be achieved by the joint efforts of the Central and State Governments, local bodies particularly the Panchayats and by getting the private sector to actively participate and contribute to this sacred national endeavour.

While Universalisation of Elementary education is our immediate objective, we also have to keep in mind our ultimate goal of Education for All. The high level of illiteracy among adults is a blot on our society. Extensive political and social mobilisation would be required at all levels if we are to achieve 100% functional literacy by 2005 AD.

The importance of women's education cannot be over emphasised. While there are several factors inhibiting women's education, the main underlying reason is still the strongly prevailing societal attitude of gender discrimination. The situation cannot be altered by anything less than a social transformation. We have recently announced a scheme which is expected to promote education of the girl child and enhance her social status.

We are hoping to launch this on 2nd October this year.

VII. Social Justice

When the United Front Government assumed office in June last year, we drew up a Common Minimum Programme. Among other things, this programme aimed at social justice through empowerment of under-privileged and deprived communities, which also included provision of membership to women in the Parliament and State Legislatures by reservation of one-third of the seats. We have already introduced a Bill in the Parliament for this purpose. This will indeed be a revolutionary step in the direction of gender equality and empowerment of women.

VIII. The Population Issue

Several Hon'ble Members of this House led by the Hon'ble Speaker have underlined the problem of burgeoning population and have stressed the need for an effective population policy for the nation. I fully endorse these concerns, and as I stated in my speech on 15th August, the population issue is perhaps the most critical problem facing the country today.

The population of this country is still growing by 17 million every year. This is a cause for alarm if one considers that with only 2.4% of the world land mass, India already has 16% of the world's population and it may surpass China to become the most populous country in the world by the year 2050 AD. Even today, we are seeing over-crowding everywhere and large scale unemployment and consequent miseries despite a reasonably fast growing economy. Some of the social disharmony and tensions we witness today can also be attributed to over-crowding.

Since 1951 when we adopted the National Family Welfare Programme, the infant mortality rate has come down from 146 to 74, death rate from 28 to 9 and fertility rate from 6 to 3.5. Pulse polio immunisation has been a major initiative and we expect to be declared polio free by the year 2000 AD. We have to step up our efforts to achieve success in much larger measures in improving these key indicators, if we are to relate confidence in the minds of parents about the longevity of their children. For, it is this confidence which will persuade them to adopt the small family norm.

We had tabled a draft National Population Policy in both Houses of Parliament in December, 1996. It aims at achieving replacement level of fertility by the year 2010 AD. This would require active involvement and commitment on the part of political leaders, religious and community level leaders, employers, labour unions and the medical and para-medical professionals including practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine.

The Hon'ble Speaker had emphasised the need for finalising the population policy soon. We have already received the comments of States and Union Territories and a revised draft taking into account the suggestions made by various quarters would be considered by the Cabinet very soon. It is the intention of the Government to place the draft of the Population Policy before Parliament in its Winter Session.

The salient features of the proposed Population Policy are:

1. The population programmes continue to be voluntary keeping in tune with the democratic system of our country.

2. The Policy will stress the provision of good quality reproductive and child health services to women and children and provide a range of contraceptives and terminal methods for avoiding unwanted pregnancies.

3. A holistic approach will be adopted with emphasis on women's health, female literacy and empowerment of women.

4. Greater role of practitioners of indigenous system of medicines, non-government voluntary sector, private practitioner and industrial houses.

5. Decentralisation in the planning and implementation of the programmes with the active involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions and womens groups.

IX. Policy Initiatives for Infrastructure Development

The provision and maintenance of adequate infrastructural facilities at reasonable cost is absolutely necessary for achieving and sustaining rapid economic growth. We have been well aware of this and successive Governments have accorded priority to investments in sectors such as railways, road, telecommunications, energy, etc. Infrastructure projects involved large financial outlays with long gestation periods. They also involve high upfront costs and require long-term financing since pay back periods are long. Government has taken various policy initiatives to promote investment and higher growth in infrastructure sectors.

Power

Power is a basic requirement not only for industrial growth but also for the energy needs of the people. Following extensive consultations. If a transmission Bill has been introduced in the Parliament to promote private investment in transmission. Another Bill for the establishment of Regulatory Commissions at the Centre and in the States has also been introduced. With a view to rationalising tariffs, special measures allowing the setting up of short gestation power plants based on liquid fuels have also been undertaken.

Coal

To ensure sustained and planned development of the coal industry, massive investments have been made in opening up of new mines, re-organisation of existing mines and development of the associated infrastructure. Amendment to the Coal Mines Nationalisation Act, 1973 is underway to set up an independent body to monitor exploration activities and allocate new coal and lignite blocks, and to establish a Regulatory Body to resolve price Disputes.

Roads

The growth in our main road network has not been commensurate with the growth in traffic. Hence, several policy measures have been approved for accelerating the development of highways in the country. These include simplification of procedures for land acquisition/ environmental clearance, comprehensive guidelines for BOT projects, treating highway and housing as a part of the road infrastructure for the purpose of tax concessions, indexing of toll and duty free import of high-quality identified equipment for highway projects.

Railways

Indian Railways carry over one million passengers and lift more than a million tonnes of freight every day. Despite this phenomenal growth, the Railways have not reached all the regions of the country. It is, therefore, the endeavour of the Government to extend the railway system to all regions even if these are commercially not viable. We are also taking steps to meet the consequent resource gap through innovative techniques of financial management and resource mobilisation.

Civil Aviation

With the advent of liberalisation and globalisation, the civil aviation scenario in our country has undergone a radical change.

To meet this challenge, the Ministry of Civil Aviation is formulating a comprehensive policy on civil aviation, which would facilitate the participation of the private sector.

Telecommunications

During the last decade, basic telecom services witnesses a sustained high growth rate of 16-17 per cent per annum. Inspite of this rapid growth, there is still a large unmet demand. Steps are being initiated to make available telephones on demand by the end of 9th Plan period. To ensure a fair competition between Department of Telecommunications and private sector enterprise, the Government has also set up a Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI).

X. Bio-Diversity

Our rich heritage of traditional knowledge base and biodiversity has bestowed upon us a great wealth. We need to enlarge and accelerate our efforts to use it beneficially. This will enable us to emerge as world leaders in a few other areas in a short time.

We have now entered in an era where the earth's environmental assets are becoming insufficient to sustain both our present patterns of economic activity and the life-support systems we depend upon. Signs of environmental degradation are pervasive.

A good portion of our agricultural land is losing fertility, water bodies have suffered extensive depletion and pollution has severely affected future food production and urban expansion. With our burgeoning population, our prosperity now increasingly depends on using resources more efficiently, distributing them more equitably, an avoiding conspicuous consumption. The challenge of finding ways to meet the legitimate needs of our growing population without further destroying the natural resource base certainly ranks among the greatest missions S&T has ever faced.

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you spoiling the whole atmosphere now? I do not think it is correct.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY (Peddapalli) : I do not want discussion. I want to comment that you have conducted this discussion for six days but how many members from weaker sections got the opportunity to speak, this is my point *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is enough, Shri G. Venkat Swamy. Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev, you are a senior Member. You should not interrupt.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : If I can not speak for two minutes to draw your attention. Then *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not proper, Shri G. Venkat Swamy.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : I want to bring a point in your notice. I don't want any discussion *...(Interruptions)**

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record. Let the cameras be off. This is not the way. I am sorry. After Prime Minister and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee have spoken, there cannot be any interruptions. Shri G. Venkat Swamy, you are a very senior Member. This is not the way.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : Why don't you allow me to speak just for two minutes *...(Interruptions)*

14.10 hrs.

VALEDICTORY REFERENCE

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, this Session, an extension of the Fifth Session of the Eleventh Lok Sabha, has been historic on several counts :—

It was convened in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of our Independence.

I had the privilege of addressing the House for the first time in its history under Rule 360.

Again, for the first time in the history of this House, the motion for debate was piloted by leader of all Parties and Groups together.

There was no business of the Government or of Private Members. The business was that of all, of the Government, the Opposition, of every Member, of the nation as a whole.

Unbroken telecasting of the proceedings was watched by the people not merely during the day but nights also, as far as I have gathered.

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*Not recorded.